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JULY, 1946

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VOL. VII No. 3

AUGUST, 1946

Editor: GEOFFREY SHARP

THE MUSIC REVIEW is published in February, May, August and November, on the first of the month. Single copies, 5s., post 3d.; annual subscription, £1, post free to all parts of the world, from the publishers or obtainable through any bookseller.

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Editorial

VERY appropriately our first opportunity to produce a special number, even on a small scale, coincides almost exactly with Professor Dent's seventieth birthday. Appropriately, because his advice and encouragement were major factors in the launching of this journal nearly seven years ago.

The essays which follow are written for the most part by scholars who are or have been associated with Dent, on subjects which we believe may have a particular interest for him. To this end we have tried to avoid any trace of parochialism, thus also helping to counterbalance the war-time gravitation of British musical interests ever nearer the parish pump.

Philip Radcliffe, of the Cambridge music faculty, contributes a detailed study of the piano sonatas of Joseph Haydn—a composer of whom we still hear and read too little. Then follows a group of essays from Paul Hirsch, Alfred Einstein, Arthur Hutchings and C. B. Oldman: four writers, any one of whom can always be relied upon to persuade us anew, if we need persuading, that Mozart is and will remain the most fascinating of composers. If Mr. Hirsch slyly insists on his amateur status with a degree of self-effacement not often accomplished even by the English with their characteristic "reserve", that does not prevent him from being the first to leaven the following pages with the fresh air of continental thought, without which music in this country would soon degenerate into a decrepit and rickety vehicle plying for hire between one mutual admiration society and another.

Professor Jeppesen, unbending from his studies of Palestrina and the history of counterpoint, offers an eloquent plea for the music of Carl Nielsen—in itself a timely reminder of the restricted nature of our concert programmes. Stamitz (J. W. A.), Cherubini, Joachim, Bruch, Busoni, Dukas, Roussel, Magnard, Kodály, Roy Harris, Samuel Barber and Edmund Rubbra spring to mind at once as composers whose works would lend new life to our music-making, while readers will be able to think of many more.

Kathi Meyer and Alfred Loewenberg contribute studies in musicology; the former on early music-printing, the latter on music for the dumb-show in *Hamlet*. Gerald Cooper emphasizes the empirical nature of opera production in this country, a state of *laissez faire* which has persisted for years, being better only than our present lot at Covent Garden which, since the war, has fed us exclusively on a diet of false promises and ballet. Finally Professor Westrup and Egon Wellesz give some account of Dent as translator and as the inspiration behind the I.S.C.M.

As always when a journal of this kind plans a special number, what starts with the buoyant enthusiasm of many is carried to completion by the hard work of a less obviously exuberant few. It would be invidious to mention by name the five who fell by the wayside, for they are all honourable men;

two avowing their inability to write what we wanted, while three failed to complete their tributes to time. Their collective delinquency has, however, spared the Editor the profitless task of trying to squeeze a quart into a pint pot and it remains only to record that the November issue will carry a bibliography of Dent's work compiled by Lawrence Haward.

GEOFFREY SHARP

Salut

Dent, to whom music is not merely sound,
But action held in voice and reed and string,
Catching the volant manners on the wing,
And bringing them uninjured to the ground,
To fascinate, bewilder, and astound,
Who, in this faith, have made our theatre sing
As when for Purcell Dryden's Muse would fling
Delicious rhythms to be duly crowned,

Redeeming opera from the pundit's scorn,
And, liegeman to Mozart, not passing by
The lesser glories of the lyric stage,
Accept, in the confusion of our morn,
While still assails men's ears the battle-cry,
This tribute to your age that mocks at age.

E. H. W. MEYERSTEIN

The Piano Sonatas of Joseph Haydn

BY

PHILIP RADCLIFFE

THE legend of Mozart as a wonder-child who never grew up has at last, we may hope, been dispelled for ever, but that of Haydn as an eternally easy-going and good-humoured old gentleman seems still to have its followers. On the face of it, his would seem to have been a particularly unattractive case; apparently he was never young, and his old age was spent in an atmosphere of monotonous complacency. The music of the latter half of the eighteenth century is in some ways strangely elusive; at one time it was regarded with kindly patronage, and when in later years people turned to it because they felt out of sympathy with the romanticism of the nineteenth and the restless experiments of the twentieth century, they did not always get a complete view of it. They could admire the incomparable grace and beauty of Mozart without realising the disturbingly acute emotions that often lay beneath it, and they could appreciate the clarity and directness of Haydn but not always his profound wisdom and humanity; in other words they sometimes praised the music for the very reasons for which their fathers had patronised it. Of the two composers Mozart is on the whole the more accessible; his works have been increasingly performed and loved during the last twenty-five years, and it is now no longer necessary to defend them from the accusations of superficiality that were brought against them during the last century. About Haydn there is less to attract the attention of the public; his life was more humdrum and uneventful than that of Mozart, and there are qualities in his music which suggest that his approach to composition was more introspective and less impulsive. The greater part of Mozart's work, whether or not it was written for the stage, is filled with the spirit of opera; he was, in the best sense of the word, a superb showman, with the utmost skill in making his themes stand out against their surroundings, and it is significant that, in his last years, he showed especial interest in the Concerto, which is of all instrumental forms the most operatic. Haydn wrote both concertos and music for the stage, but in neither, generally speaking, do we find his most personal qualities. His methods of introducing his melodies are less regular than those of Mozart; at moments where the younger composer would introduce a new theme, Haydn frequently finds some fresh guise in which to clothe his first idea, reserving new material for some less obvious occasion. The possibilities of thematic treatment were of particular interest to him; often a comparatively short sonata movement may have a development section which is not only surprisingly expansive but proves to be the emotional climax of the whole movement. In many ways his work is particularly characteristic of a genius that matured, not with the swiftness and brilliance of Mozart, but with a more gradual and deliberate increase of strength.

Of all Haydn's works, the piano music has on the whole been the most neglected, and apart from a most interesting article written by Professor Dent during the year of the Haydn centenary for the *Monthly Musical Record*, they have received little detailed criticism in England. This attitude is to some extent a survival from the times when Haydn and Mozart were regarded merely as forerunners to Beethoven. It was in the piano sonata that Beethoven first asserted himself fully and introduced his most far-reaching innovations; consequently it was for some time particularly hard to view the piano works of Haydn and Mozart in clear perspective. By this time, however, it should be possible to judge them purely on their own merits, without unnecessary and irrelevant comparisons. Despite the great beauty of Mozart's finest piano music, he himself, as Mr. Hyatt King recently pointed out in these pages, regarded composition for piano as a sideline, and did comparatively little of it during his last years. Haydn's piano sonatas are, with several notable exceptions, planned on a smaller scale than his quartets and symphonies, but they are not for that reason any less characteristic; many of the shortest are surprisingly eventful and sometimes show a peculiar charm and intimacy prophetic of such works of Beethoven as the Sonatas in F sharp major and E minor. His writing for the keyboard is very individual; in some of the latest works it is strikingly rich and, when at its simplest, is often far more effective in performance than its appearance on paper suggests. Like that of Mozart it contains a considerable amount of elaborate ornamentation, particularly in the slower movements, owing to the lack of sustained tone characteristic of the instruments of the time. The two composers employ it, however, with decidedly dissimilar results. The brilliant passages in Mozart's piano sonatas and concertos are often strongly suggested by operatic vocal coloratura; in Haydn's works they usually have a more essentially instrumental character, which is emphasised by very effective use of arpeggios and broken chords. The slow movement of the late piano Trio in G (no. 1 in most editions), illustrates well Haydn's sensitiveness to instrumental colour. The first theme is a delicately ornamented melody played by the piano; the second, which is simpler and more sustained, is given to the violin. Later the first tune is transferred, very effectively, to the violin, but Haydn realises that only the sustained tone of a stringed instrument can do justice to the simple breadth of the second, and therefore does not give it to the piano. Equally characteristic is the distribution of melodic phrases between piano and violin in the beautiful Adagio of the Trio in F sharp minor, and the ornamentation is here highly typical of Haydn's keyboard style, a fact which lends support to Tovey's theory that this movement is not an arrangement of the Adagio of the Symphony in B flat (no. 102), but is the original version. The simplest and broadest type of Haydn tune, such as that of the Largo from the Quartet in D, op. 75, does not often occur in the piano works, but in general the melodic invention is abundant, and singularly varied in rhythmic shape; Haydn is equally happy whether he is constructing a square and symmetrical tune or a melodic paragraph containing sentences of varying lengths. Counterpoint of a luminous and unobtrusive kind plays an important part,

especially in the later works, and there are places where Haydn's polyphonic instincts produce surprising harmonic effects, as in the two following passages, where passing dissonances arise, not from any particular emotional stress, but simply from the clashing of individual parts:



The order of the sonatas varies greatly in different collections; fortunately the complete edition which was begun early in this century but is still unfinished includes all the piano sonatas, and the numbering given there will be used in this article. With two early exceptions, they never contain more than three movements, but the arrangement of these is very variable, owing to Haydn's reluctance to part with the Minuet; this frequently takes the place of either the slow movement or the Finale. He also had a special affection for the variation form, which is liable to occur in any movement. Of the first four sonatas, all of which are very early works, the most interesting is undoubtedly the second, in B flat; the slow movement, in particular, is remarkably emotional for its date, and the Minuet has much charm. The fifth, in A, which appeared in 1763, is notable for the sudden digressions to the minor key that occur in the second subjects of both first and last movements; these suggest the influence of Domenico Scarlatti, which is not uncommon in these early works. The next four sonatas were published in 1766, though they may have been written earlier; the most ambitious is number 6, in G, which has four movements. The Adagio, of the ornate operatic type that grew less and less frequent as Haydn's style developed, is less distinguished than that of the earlier B flat Sonata, but the Minuet and Trio (particularly the latter), and the Finale are quite characteristic. The three that follow are of little importance, and are on a very small scale, although the eighth has four movements. In 1766 Haydn composed a Sonata in E flat which was not published for twenty years, when it appeared in a set of three with two much later works; in the complete edition it is placed rather surprisingly as number 45, but it is more conveniently examined here, in chronological order. It shows a considerable increase in maturity of style, especially in the first movement, which contains some pleasantly warm and expressive music. The Andante is more contrapuntal

in texture than any of the earlier slow movements and the Finale has an attractive, rather Scarlattian brilliance.

Sonatas 10-14 were published together in 1767, but the date of their composition is not known. They do not call for detailed comment, but the Minuet of the twelfth, in A, has a remarkable Trio; the lively Finale of number 13 and the quietly flowing first movement of number 14 are both attractive. The fifteenth, in C, which also exists with a violin accompaniment, appears to have been arranged from a divertimento for flute, oboe and strings; it ends with a pleasant little set of variations on a characteristic theme. The slow first movement of number 16, in E flat, is twice interrupted, not very satisfactorily, by a curious cadenza-like passage, showing Haydn's desire to increase the scope of his keyboard writing. The next three were not published till 1789, but number 17, in B flat, is an obviously early work of little interest, and the autograph of the nineteenth, in D, is dated 1767. This is the largest and most ambitious Sonata that Haydn had yet written, and calls for rather more detailed examination. The first movement is in a very moderate tempo that leaves room for considerable variation of phrase-lengths, a feature very characteristic of Haydn, especially in keyboard music, and, in spite of the generally leisurely atmosphere, there are moments of considerable power. The Adagio is also planned on a broad scale, and is notable for the fact that so many of the singing passages are in an unusually low register; it might almost be a transcription from a 'cello concerto. There are suggestions of dialogue between the solo instrument and the orchestra, and occasionally even of double-stopping; just before the end there is a pause for a cadenza, followed by a few bars of "tutti". The Finale is a brisk rondo, a form which appears here for the first time in the sonatas; the main theme is effectively varied at each return. In these early sonatas we can see Haydn gradually feeling his way towards an individual style; they contain nothing as immediately attractive as the best of the op. 3 quartets, or as ambitious as the curious trio of symphonies entitled "Matin", "Midi", and "Soir" that were written in 1761, but they have original and attractive features and are well worth exploring.

In 1769 Haydn wrote the op. 9 quartets, the earliest set that he himself in later years considered to be representative, and two years later came op. 17 and op. 20, which mark a still greater advance, and a notable widening of emotional range. The eighteenth piano Sonata, in B flat, has not yet been mentioned; Pohl and others have assumed that, though not published till 1789, it was composed at the same period as numbers 17 and 19, but certain facts suggest that this may be an error. It was written for an instrument the keyboard of which extended to the high F above the treble stave, a note that does not appear in either of the others. Though on a small scale, it is a work of singular charm, and the general quality of its style and texture suggest a date not much earlier than 1770 and quite possibly some years later. Of its two movements the second, a kind of overgrown Minuet too large to need a Trio, is particularly attractive. Finer still, however, is number 20, in C minor, which holds among Haydn's sonatas a position not unlike that

of the fine work in A minor among the piano sonatas of Mozart. Written in 1771, it shows the same increase of emotional intensity that is to be found in many of the quartets of that year, and in the slightly later Symphonies in E minor and F sharp minor. The first movement, opening with a theme of great beauty, is broadly designed, and the development, which covers an unusually wide range of modulation, contains a climax of great power. The Andante is perhaps less striking at first sight, but its frequent syncopations give it a curiously unsettled atmosphere that is consistent with the mood of the whole work. The Finale has something of the brilliance of that of the earlier E flat Sonata, number 45, but is in a far more sombre and passionate mood; the recapitulation is particularly fine, and makes a worthy conclusion to what is perhaps the earliest outstanding masterpiece among these sonatas. Haydn was now in his fortieth year, and, after a leisurely development, master of a wholly individual style. A comparison with C. P. E. Bach is interesting; the music of the older composer is full of pleasant, if uneventful, lyricism, interspersed on occasion with startlingly bold strokes of modulation. Haydn learned something from both of these, but in his mature work the balance between them is more evenly maintained; the lyricism is more vital and individual and the unexpected strokes come more smoothly and spontaneously. It is the combination of his dramatic and reflective sides that gives the C minor Sonata its particular strength.

During the next ten years Haydn produced a large quantity of piano sonatas, numbering about twenty in all. In 1773 came a set of six of which the last three contain optional and unnecessary violin accompaniments. The first movement of the twenty-first, in C, has a cheerful and very characteristic main theme, but there is a strong undercurrent of agitation that rises to the surface in a striking manner during the second half. The Adagio contains some rich and expressive colouring, and at one point during the second subject an interrupted cadence (a feature very typical of Haydn), leads to an oddly *Tristanesque* phrase:



The Finale is a light-hearted presto with an attractively capricious development. Number 22, in E, is a charming work in a more reflective vein, especially in the first two movements. The final "Tempo di Minuetto" is a very pleasant example of one of Haydn's favourite forms, a set of variations on alternating major and minor themes. In the present instance the variations of the major theme are introduced as written-out repeats, which gives them the air of spontaneous afterthoughts. The next Sonata, in F, has a remarkably beautiful and pathetic slow movement; the other two are cheerful in mood,

with humorous touches in the Finale. The first movements of these three works are notable for the freedom of their recapitulations, all of which introduce new features. Of the three remaining sonatas of this set the most satisfactorily balanced is the twenty-fourth, in D, in which the ornate but very expressive second movement leads without a break into a Finale that anticipates the mood of some of Beethoven's earlier scherzi. The next two both contain admirable music, but produce a rather lop-sided effect owing to the fact that their first movements are so much more important than the rest of the works. The opening Moderato of number 25, in E flat, has striking themes and some dramatic passages, particularly in the development; it is followed by a neat but rather dry Minuet in canon. The Sonata in A, number 26, also has a fine and solidly built first movement, which contains passages of remarkable harmonic interest, such as the following;



The "Minuetto al rovescio", in which both Minuet and Trio are played backwards for their second halves, had already appeared in a slightly earlier Symphony in G, number 47; it is an ingenious trifle, but neither it nor the very short and slight presto are quite worthy of so impressive a first movement.

Another set of six appeared in 1776; they vary considerably in mood, but each contains either a Minuet or a set of variations, or both. Number 27, in G, is gay and unassuming, with an attractively flowing Minuet. The next, in E flat, is a more subtle work; a singularly neat and delicate first movement is followed by a robust Minuet with an expressive Trio in the minor. Both sonatas end with a light-hearted set of variations; the E flat movement, owing to the irregular rhythmic structure of the theme, is the more individual. The first movement of number 29, in F, is more massive in texture, and employs some interesting and unusual pianistic devices. The Adagio is warm and rich in colour, and in the final "Tempo di Minuetto", Haydn ingeniously combines his two favourite forms, the agitated Trio being followed, not by the usual "da capo" but by two variations on the Minuet. The next, in A, has a very unusual feature; the first movement, which has a finely sustained development, rises at the end of the recapitulation to a climax from which it breaks off suddenly and leads without a break into a short melodious Adagio which, in turn, leads straight into the Finale. This is a set of variations, more reflective in mood than those of the G major and E flat Sonatas, and containing some clear and delicate part-writing. The most striking feature of number 31, in E, is the central Allegretto in E minor, which is missing in most of the more recent editions; it is contrapuntal in texture, and in an austere emotional

mood far removed from the popular conception of Haydn. The first movement, though not of great length, is spacious in style, with an effectively varied return of the first subject; the Finale is another slight and cheerful set of variations. But the most remarkable member of this group of sonatas is undoubtedly the last, in B minor. It has not quite the rich expressiveness of the earlier work in C minor but instead there is a surprisingly aggressive energy, and it is interesting to find that the defiant figure which ends both halves of the first movement is recalled in a different rhythmic guise at similar moments in the Finale. The powerful first movement is followed by a charming and luminously coloured Minuet in B major, with a more sombre Trio. The repeated notes of the main theme of the Finale are treated with a fierce insistence that looks ahead to the very late Sonata in E flat, number 52, and passages such as the following:



and the very emphatic coda have a strong foretaste of Beethoven. Two more Sonatas, in D and E minor, appeared in 1778; in both of them the slow movement leads without a break into a set of alternating variations. The Sonata in D is not one of the most remarkable, but the Adagio contains some expressive music, particularly towards the end, and the first theme of the Finale is delightfully characteristic. The opening Presto of the E minor Sonata is a strikingly vigorous and original movement; almost everything in it grows from one of the two figures announced in the opening bars, and the coda is especially fine. The rest of the Sonata, though pleasant, does not reach the same level; the most arresting moment is the climax of the Adagio that leads through an interrupted cadence into the unpretentious Finale.

The next five sonatas appeared together in 1780, with the addition of the nine-year-old work in C minor. Number 35, in C, gives a pleasant picture of Haydn at his most good-humoured, but it is comparatively slight and superficial. The thirty-sixth, in C sharp minor, has a very fine first movement, remarkable both for its emotional intensity and for its resourceful treatment of a single theme; particularly effective are the pauses and sudden silences. These constitute a feature that is to be found in almost every mature work of Haydn; sometimes the results are humorous, but more often, as in this movement, either dramatic or deeply reflective. The second movement is a set of alternating variations; it has some attractive ideas, such as the use of the first four bars of the first theme, unvaried, as a kind of refrain, but as a whole it does not reach the level of the rest of the work, and Haydn himself may have felt that he had not exhausted the possibilities of the theme, as he returns to it in another work. The Minuet has far greater distinction, and its Trio, in

C sharp major, is of singular beauty and serenity. The next Sonata, in D, is one of the most familiar, and illustrates in a striking manner Haydn's emotional range. The first and third movements are in the highest spirits, but the latter is preceded without a break by an astonishingly profound and tragic Largo, prophetic of the slow movement of Beethoven's Sonata in D from op. 10. Haydn's incursions into this sombre territory are always impressive, but a certain innate optimism seems to have prevented him from ever ending a movement in such a mood; the outstanding examples in later works are the Adagio of the Quartet in C from op. 54, which leads straight into the Minuet, and the slow introductions of some of the later symphonies. The Adagio of the next Sonata, in E flat, is also in a sombre mood, but more lyrical and less massive: the other two movements are both rich in attractive ideas; indeed the main theme of the Finale seems worthy of more expansive treatment than it actually receives. In the first movement of number 39, in G, Haydn returns (intentionally, as he is careful to point out in a foot-note) to the theme of the scherzando from the C sharp minor Sonata. The new treatment is richer and more varied, and is in rondo form, with two independent episodes, one in the tonic and the other in the relative minor; although both are marked "Allegro con brio", the G major movement should almost certainly be played at a rather slower pace than the other. The coda of the Adagio contains a kind of written-out cadenza, that has however no hint of virtuosity, but is remarkably expressive. The springing energy of the Finale recalls the first movement of the E minor Sonata, but in a lighter and less intense mood; the unceremonious end is very characteristic.

The next three appeared together in 1784, and they also exist as Trios for violin, viola and 'cello. They contain only two movements each, and are all of delightful quality. The first movement of number 40, in G, is a set of alternating variations, very Haydnesque in its blend of tenderness and humour; the forty-first, in B flat, opens with a spirited Allegro in sonata form. Both works end with a lively Finale in ABA form, the central section of that of the G major Sonata being in an unexpectedly intense mood. The third Sonata of the group, in D, opens with a beautiful Andante in variation form; the Finale is a remarkably neat and concentrated little movement, derived entirely from its first four bars. It is in a kind of modified binary form with an exceptionally short exposition, which may have influenced the Finales of Beethoven's two piano Sonatas in F, op. 10 number 2, and op. 54. Number 43, in A flat, also exists as a Sonata for piano and violin in G; the date of its composition is not known, but in some early editions it appears with numbers 33 and 34 and may have been composed about 1778. It is an unassuming but very pleasant work, the two Minuets being particularly attractive. The next three, which appeared together in 1786, include the early Sonata in E flat that has already been discussed. The forty-fourth, in G minor, is a short but singularly perfect little work in two movements, that deserves far more attention. It does not show the vehemence characteristic of the earlier Sonatas in minor keys, but the emotion is expressed in a gentler and more lyrical manner that looks ahead to the fine set of variations for piano in F minor. The quiet joke at the end is a

pleasantly Haydnesque touch. The first movement of number 46, in A flat, has points in common with that of number 31; it is not especially attractive in its themes, but is finely and spaciouly constructed, with a long and very effective development. The Adagio is one of Haydn's finest; it is full of beautifully clear and expressive counterpoint and has a particularly striking coda. The Finale is brilliant and effective but, by comparison, rather superficial. The next Sonata, in F, appeared in 1788, though the actual date of composition might quite well have been some years earlier. Apart from the fine Larghetto in F minor it is not a work of great interest, and the passages in octaves and thirds in the first movement suggest, as Pohl pointed out, that it may have been written for teaching purposes.

Number 48, in C, has two movements, the first being a thoughtful and expressive set of alternating variations, of which both themes are built on the same phrase. Haydn tends more and more to economy of material in his later works, and the problems of thematic development are almost invariably conducive to an increase, not only of ingenuity, but also of emotional intensity. The second movement of this Sonata is a lively and effective rondo. A year later, in 1790, came the well-known and admirable work in E flat, dedicated to Frau von Genzinger. This is about contemporary with the op. 64 quartets, and has something of the same warmth and geniality. The first movement is full of unexpected and original developments, and from time to time a feeling of Beethovenish suspense is produced by a figure of four repeated notes that appears towards the end of the exposition and plays an important part in the development. The Adagio has points in common with that of Mozart's Sonata in D, K. 576, particularly in its main theme. Both movements contain a certain amount of ornamentation, but Haydn's melody is simpler on its first appearance, and his decorations, which are reserved for varied returns, are more instrumental and less operatic in character. The two central sections are both in a minor key, but Haydn's is more sombre in colouring and more resourceful in its keyboard writing. Both movements are of great beauty, the sensitive lyricism of the one being as characteristic of Mozart as is the mellow thoughtfulness of the other, of Haydn. The Finale, a cross between a Minuet and a Rondo, is of lighter texture than the rest, but has great charm.

The last three Sonatas, in C, D, and E flat, were all written in England; the autograph of the work in E flat is dated 1794, and the other two may be presumed to have been composed about the same time. Number 50, in C, was not printed for some years after Haydn's death, and is sometimes known as the English Sonata. Its first movement is of very great interest; the delightful main theme is presented in an astonishing variety of moods, and the piano writing is particularly original and effective; the only instances of the composer's own indications for the use of the pedal occur here. The Adagio, perhaps less profound than some of the slow movements of this period, contains however some very attractive music; it had been composed and published separately in Vienna at a slightly earlier date. The Finale, like the Minuets of some of the latest quartets, strongly anticipates the mood of Beethoven's scherzi; far more so, in fact, than those of the late symphonies. It is full of

capricious and unexpected digressions, with some amusing feints at modulations that are never carried out. The Sonata in D is a shorter work in two movements, and is, as might be expected, more intimate. It opens with a simple and dignified Andante; Pohl's suggestion of a quicker pace shows a curious misunderstanding of its character. The final presto is a movement of great distinction, rich in harmonic interest, and of a singularly warm and urgent emotional appeal. The fifty-second Sonata, in E flat, is the largest work that Haydn ever wrote for the piano, and takes a very high place in his output. The rich and massive first movement has remarkable continuity, despite the variety of its material; points of particular interest are the treatment of the slowly descending figure that first occurs in the sixth bar, the surprising appearance of the playful second subject in the remote key of E major towards the end of the development, and the mysterious bare octaves that cast so impressive a shadow over the recapitulation. The Adagio is also in E major and its exceptional profundity is reminiscent of the Largo, in the same key, of the Quartet in G minor from op. 74. It is in the simple ABA form of which Haydn became increasingly fond in his later years, but almost everything is derived from the opening bar, a feature which, as we have seen, is usually an indication that Haydn's inspiration is at a very high level; seldom, however, did he allow his emotions to rise to the surface with such intensity as in this remarkable movement. The Finale is based on a seemingly light-hearted theme that receives much striking and dramatic treatment. The close of the development, where the repeated notes of the theme are combined with a descending chromatic figure, is of a singular power; Tovey's description of the passage as "extravagantly comic" is surely open to question.

This great work ends the survey of Haydn's sonatas, but, though they are the chief concern of this article, there are three other works about which it is tempting to say a few words. The *Capriccio* in G is an excellent example of resourceful treatment of a single theme; the *Fantasia* in C, singularly different in conception from those of Mozart, is a lively and adventurous piece in a very spacious rondo form. Both works were written in 1789, and illustrate the wide range of modulation so characteristic of Haydn's mature work. Finer still is the *Andante with Variations* in F minor, of 1792, in which Haydn uses his favourite form, with two alternating themes, on an exceptionally spacious scale and with exceptional beauty and sensitiveness. If the last E flat Sonata is his most monumental work for piano, the F minor *Variations* may well be described as his most intimate. But the gulf between the outstanding masterpieces and the other works is by no means as wide as is sometimes supposed, and is certainly narrower than is the case with Mozart's piano works. In all branches of composition Haydn developed slowly, and the first seventeen sonatas are undoubtedly of more interest to the historian than to the average music-lover. But the remaining works, varying considerably in size and general atmosphere, contain a large quantity of music, that is still remarkably full of freshness, beauty and humanity.

The Salzburg Mozart Festival, 1906

Reminiscences of an Amateur

BY

PAUL HIRSCH

WHEN we were very young we used to listen with wrapt attention to our parents' thrilling stories of the playing of Liszt and Rubinstein and of the singing of the great Adelina Patti; and (perhaps most impressive of all) to that story of a private dinner party at which Johannes Brahms and Clara Schumann played piano-duets. An elderly uncle, who had been present at the notorious *Tannhäuser* performance at the Paris Opéra on 13th March, 1861, used to give us a hair-raising description of the uproar created by the Jockey Club. We often discussed such events in the eighties and early nineties of the last century and wondered if we should ever have similar stories of historic performances to tell to our children and grand-children. Looking back over many musical experiences since 1899, I feel our reminiscences are equally exciting, even if we may be prone to exaggerate a little the glory of long past days, as, no doubt, did our parents before us.

My first *pèlerinage* was in 1899, when I was allowed to go to Bayreuth. Among the more memorable of later experiences were the 1906 Salzburg Mozart Festival, the Haydn Commemoration at Vienna in 1909, many Bach, Beethoven and Brahms Festivals and the meetings of the International Society for Contemporary Music.

Of all these journeys undertaken in search of good music, that to the Mozart Festival of 1906 at Salzburg had perhaps the most lasting influence. Looking through my old notes and the programmes—reverently preserved—I thought an eye-witness account of this meeting, which in many respects seemed to me of outstanding quality and artistic importance, might be of interest.

The year 1906, being the 150th anniversary of Mozart's birth, saw quite a number of so-called "festivals". The directors of more or less every European opera house deemed it their duty to stage some of Mozart's operas, and all orchestral and choral societies dedicated at least one evening to his memory.

Salzburg, as befitted Mozart's birthplace, offered a special treat: a whole Mozart week was arranged from August 14th to 20th, and the old Emperor Franz Josef granted permission to the members of the Imperial Vienna Opera House to perform outside their regular domain. The fame of this Opera House, the quality of its singers and of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, was such as to guarantee performances of the highest standard. The programme consisted of two operas (each given twice) and four concerts: two orchestral, one of chamber music and one of church music.

To begin with the concerts: it must be admitted that, while outstanding in quality, they were not exactly representative. The first of the orchestral

DES UNSTERBLICHEN MOZART

DON GIOVANNI

Don Giovanni	Francesco d'Andrade
Il Commendatore	Gerhard Stehmann
Donna Anna	Lilli Lehmann
Donna Elvira	Johanna Gadske
Don Ottavio	Georg Maikl
Leporello	Hermann Brag
Zerlina	Geraldine Farrar
Masetto	Anton Moser

Cori, Musici, Servi.

Einstudiert von Lilli Lehmann.

Orchesterleiter: Reynaldo Hahn.

Bühnenleiter: Emil Gerhäuser.

SALZBURG, DEN 14. UND 16. AUGUST 1906.



Wegen Wiederholung der Acten wird ein geneigtes Publikum um gütige Verzeihung gebeten.

(reproduziert aus dem Theaterzettel der Leipziger Erstaufführung des Don Giovanni 1788.)

matinees was conducted by Felix Mottl, one of the greatest conductors of his time. It began with the D major Symphony, K.504 (now always called the *Prague*), followed by the E flat piano Concerto, K.482, played by Camille Saint-Saëns, and the variations (one movement only) from the Divertimento, K.334. It ended with—Beethoven's C minor Symphony! I agree with a reviewer in the *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* who said that it all was very beautiful, that it would hardly be possible to hear the C minor Symphony better played, but that for this festival it would have been more appropriate to finish the programme with one of the three "great" Mozart Symphonies. (It must be remembered that in 1906 it was not yet possible to tune in to those symphonies on the wireless several times a week). Monsieur Saint-Saëns—he was in his 71st year—played with devotion and, of course, in the best style, but one would have considered the C minor or D minor concerto more appropriate.

Dr. Karl Muck was engaged to conduct the second concert, but he fell ill, and his place was taken by Dr. Richard Strauss, still quite a young man, but already regarded as the foremost composer of the day. The programme again was not very representative of Mozart: Overture to the *Magic Flute*; Symphonie Concertante for Violin, Viola and Orchestra, K.364 (a charming and lovable work, but here, to my way of thinking, not quite in its right place) and again, as in the first concert, a wonderful work which had nothing whatever to do with Wolfgang Amadeus: Bruckner's ninth Symphony.

The chamber music concert was perhaps the least successful. A minor local pianist did not quite rise to the occasion; Miss Geraldine Farrar sang—with piano accompaniment!—the aria "Non temer, amato bene", K.490; but the clarinet Quintet, K.581 played by the best members of the Vienna Philharmonic, saved the situation. It is amusing to see in the printed programme of this concert a work by Beethoven (*sic*), whose name it would seem was unfamiliar to the Salzburg printer. This would never have happened in Bonn, where the printers to a man knew how to spell the name of their famous townsman, but where they might well have spelt Mozart with a 'd', as did Simrock (Bonn) and Schott (Mainz) occasionally.

The Director of the Mozarteum, J. F. Hummel, a very good musician, conducted the choral concert at which the Salzburg Choir sang most beautifully. Among the works performed were the immortal "Ave verum", K.618, and the Coronation Mass, K.317.

You may be thinking: this is all very pleasant but surely not sufficiently important to write about after a lapse of 40 years. I agree; but the two operas were more than extraordinary: these performances were unique and are indeed worth recalling to mind.

If ever there was a chance to compare and study methods of performing *Don Giovanni* and *Le Nozze di Figaro*, it was here. The two works were presented in totally different ways, and both performances will remain firmly implanted in the memory of all who were lucky enough to be present.

To begin with *Don Giovanni*: This was definitely a *défilé* of operatic stars, with a minor conductor and nothing like an "ensemble". Lilli Lehmann,

the famous and to some extent awe-inspiring singer was responsible for the production. She certainly did her best and had studied with the soloists and the local Salzburg chorus for several months. There were, however, two exceptions: d'Andrade, considered to be the finest Don Giovanni known, did not arrive until two days before the first performance, and Reynaldo Hahn, the young French conductor, was able to have but one rehearsal with the orchestra and the singers. We learn these details from Lilli Lehmann's own account,¹ and in my old diary I find that these matters formed the chief topic of conversation at Salzburg, while the daily press was full of this and similar gossip. So it would be surprising if the performance had been perfect. The great sextet in the second act for example was not faultless, and a few other ensemble numbers seemed a bit shaky. Still, in this performance of *Don Giovanni* one was privileged to listen to some of the greatest singers of their, or any, period. Lilli Lehmann certainly had the *feu sacré* required for Donna Anna; it is true she was fat (as were all *Hochdramatische* in those days—Bülow called them "*Primatonnen*") and her voice had lost much of the timbre of her youth, but the dramatic power of her acting and the wonderful scansion of her recitativi and arias were of the highest order. To this day I have not forgotten, and shall never forget, the moment when Donna Anna finds out that it was Don Giovanni who murdered her father. The impression made by those passionate words: "*Quegli è il carnefice del padre mio*" which so stirred our blood will last for ever. The opera was sung in Italian—considered a risky experiment in 1906, and the reviewers were fairly unanimous in opposing it. Without wishing to give a definite judgment, I venture to say in all modesty that I feel singing in English, German or French, according to the country where the performance takes place, is preferable for a standard repertory rendering (especially in this country, where we have Prof. Dent's first class translations), but for a Mozart Festival it is better to use the original text. Only one singer of the cast, Señor d'Andrade, had been accustomed to singing in Italian. Although he, like Lilli Lehmann, was no longer in his prime as a singer, he showed in his rapidly spoken recitativi and the "*Fin ch'an dal vino*" aria, taken at an incredible (and even somewhat exaggerated) speed, that he really *knew* his Italian words. Furthermore, he was a fine actor, with all the charm and aggressiveness apposite to the Don's character. Zerlina, sung by the good-looking Geraldine Farrar, was a delightful partner. Johanna Gadski as Elvira also gave real pleasure. Many connoisseurs would like to see the great aria "*Mi tradi quell' alma ingrata*" omitted because Mozart did not compose it until 1788, a year after the Prague first night. They might have altered their opinion, had they heard Gadski sing this marvelous music at Salzburg.

There is, of course, the other "added" aria: Ottavio's "*Dalla sua pace*". I feel it would be a pity to rob poor Don Ottavio of this piece. Georg Maikl, a young Viennese tenor with a beautiful voice, sang it extremely well. Hermann Brag as Leporello was excellent in his big aria, but he seemed to

¹ Lilli Lehmann: "*Die Salzburger Don Juan-Aufführungen im Jahre 1906*". *Mozarteums-Mitteilungen* III, 1920, p. 15 ff.

have some difficulties with the Italian recitativo. The remaining smaller parts, each of them important, were all efficiently sung and played. The Philharmonic Orchestra, and the Chorus of gifted Salzburg amateurs, were above criticism. As to the conductor, Mr. Reynaldo Hahn, a pupil of Massenet, he had been engaged by Lilli Lehmann after she had tried in vain to get one of the three great 'M's: Mahler, Mottl or Muck. Hahn was no doubt a gifted and serious artist, but he lacked opera experience and certainly did not have the requisite authority with which to impress famous protagonists such as d'Andrade, who always "knew better". On the whole, this *Don Giovanni* performance was not ideal, lacking as it did a spirit of unity, but a great deal of wonderful singing and splendid acting made it an occasion never to be forgotten.

How different the *Nozze di Figaro*! This came at the end of the week and proved in every respect to be its climax. It was symptomatic that, whereas after *Don Giovanni* everybody argued about the singers and the arias, after *Figaro* only the whole work was discussed, with one name outstanding—Mahler, who was not even named on the printed programme. Mahler was certainly one of the greatest opera conductors of all time. It was, however, not easy to work with him: on artistic and musical questions he always refused to compromise. This explains why, in the nervous and always excitable world of opera, he had so many enemies. In rehearsal his energy was boundless, and there was no respite until everything went as he wished it to go: until he had obtained the result he desired. *Figaro*, with Mahler conducting had for some months previously been one of the main attractions of the Vienna Opera House. It was given in Max Kalbeck's German version, and as usual the arias of Basilio and Marcellina were left out. When it was decided that the whole ensemble should go to Salzburg, new rehearsals started and never ceased until the last minute. Mahler was rewarded for his patience and relentless energy: the Salzburg performance proved to be the incarnation of all that Mozart gives us—the *folle journée* passed without any slackening of tension or diminution in interest. Mozart's genius has never been more evident than here under Mahler's baton, with the help of well disciplined singers and the best of all orchestras. It was an evening of unending happiness—what did it matter, the name of the singers or the scenery? All was masterly; everything was in keeping; the whole was faithful to the spirit of the composer and of the libretto. Everybody present must have felt deep gratitude for this priceless gift. Alma Mahler² quotes the music critic of the *Neue Freie Presse*, Julius Korngold, writing in 1926 (20 years later):

"*Figaro* at Salzburg: the words conjure up an imperishable memory... This was the ideal *Figaro* in its enchanting grace, its lightwinged conversational tone and the incomparable balance of the whole ensemble. No one who was present on that occasion can ever forget it."

Another twenty years have passed, but that remains as true to-day as ever it was.

² Alma Mahler: *Gustav Mahler*, London, 1946, p.83-4.

The First Performance of Mozart's Entführung in London

BY

ALFRED EINSTEIN

C. F. POHL (*Mozart und Haydn in London*, Vienna, 1867, Vol. I, 145 ff.) has already definitely stated the order in which Mozart's six chief operas appeared in London. First, oddly enough, came *La Clemenza di Tito* (27th March, 1806), not because the Londoners had a special interest in Mozart's late—one might almost say posthumous—*opera seria*, but because the famous, or notorious, Mrs. Billington (born Weichsell) was all afire to play the role of Vitellia. In sharp contrast to her, the other singers in the cast, with the exception of Braham in the title role, took part only grudgingly; and also in sharp contrast to the lady, the public received the work with icy coldness. Nevertheless it was revived several times, in 1812, in 1816, and in 1821.

Five years later followed *Così fan tutte* (9th May, 1811) and *Die Zauberflöte* (6th June, 1811)—or rather *Il flauto magico*, for they used the Italian text in the version by de Gamerra. *Così fan tutte* likewise owed its introduction to a singer, Signora Radicati, who chose the role of Dorabella for her benefit performance, ostensibly "to gratify the wish of the British musical public to hear an *opera buffa* by Mozart". Since Catalani refused to take part, a Madame Bertinotti sang Fiordiligi; but both the big arias were too hard for her "so she substituted something easier for them". The other singers also found ways of making things more comfortable for themselves". (Pohl *l.c.* 147.)

Perhaps the success of *Così fan tutte* drew the *Zauberflöte* in its wake, which in spite of zealous publicity proved to be of course a fiasco of the first order. It survived for only a single repetition (4th July) and then was laid on the table. But we must not hold the people of London too much to blame for this; even though the work was undoubtedly extensively "arranged", the public was in no way prepared to understand its meaning.

A year later came the *Nozze* (18th June, 1812) or rather, as the *Times* announced it, *Le mariage de Figaro*. Mozart's first Susanna, Anna Selina Storace, was still living, though in retirement, in Herne Hill. Her role was sung by Catalani, along with Mrs. Dickons as the Contessa, L. Fischer as the Conte, and Naldi as Figaro. But the work seems to have had no real success until it was taken up again (1st February, 1817) with an all Italian cast. A few weeks after this (12th April, 1817) with more or less the same singers and only one English woman, Miss Hughes (Donna Evira), *Don Giovanni* was at last performed. *Don Giovanni* was the opera that won England for Mozart. It was not only an immediate but a lasting success, the best proof of which is the popularity of many grotesque travesties of it. Pohl mentions one of the most amusing of these, a performance in a circus of "Don Giovanni or a Spectre on Horseback", in which the stone horse was represented by a real live pony

and the music derived from Arne, Blow, Carter (and so on through the whole alphabet).

Presumably the lasting success of *Don Giovanni* led to the production of Mozart's first Vienna opera, the *Entführung* on 24th November, 1821, this time at Covent Garden. It was "translated by W. Dimond, with additional airs by J. B. Cramer". (See Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera*, p. 196, Cambridge, 1943.) The "additional airs" and also their alleged author, J. B. Cramer, point to a curious state of affairs. And since in general we know little about the form in which Mozart's operas were presented to the nineteenth century, this rather entertaining case of the *Entführung* gives us something to think about.

In the Forbes Library, Northampton, Massachusetts, there is a complete pianoforte score of this first London version. The title reads:

THE SERAGLIO. | The Celebrated Opera by *MOZART*, with additional Music, | as Performed at the | Theatre Royal Covent Garden. | Composed and Arranged for the | Piano Forte, | and Dedicated (by Gracious Permission) | with the most Profound Respect to | His Most Gracious Majesty, | *THE KING.* | By | His Majesty's most Humble and Dutiful Servant | *C. KRAMER.* Master and Conductor of His Majesty's Band. | *LONDON,* | Published (for the Author) by Clementi & Co. 26 Cheapside & S. Chappell, 135 New Bond Str.

In addition to the page numbering of the separate pieces there is a continuous numbering of the whole edition, 219 engraved plates. The overture has, as page one, its own title page:

The Overture | to the *OPERA* of | *THE SERAGLIO*...Adapted from | Mozart's Celebrated Opera | by | *C. KRAMER.*

No certain information about the C. Kramer named in the title is to be found in any dictionary. Pohl calls him Christopher (or Christian) Kramer, "Master of the Royal Band of Wind-Instruments". Eitner in the *Quellen-Lexikon* (Vol. 5, 427), following Burney, recognizes a Kramer from Hanover who came to London from Schwetzingen about 1772 and was still working there in 1822 "as a highly esteemed musician" (*Leipziger Ztg.* 24, 405). That can hardly still be our Kramer. Kramer is mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of November, 1827 (Vol. 97, II, 472), as one of the chief mourners at the burial of the violinist, Christoph Gottfried Kiesewetter. *Grove*, in the article on the King's Band, calls him Christian Kramer, successor to William Shield as "Master of the Musick" in 1829, a date that cannot be right and is probably based on the fact that Shield died in 1829 at the age of eighty-one. For the installation of Kramer's successor, François Cramer, *Grove* gives two dates, 1827 and 1834. While 1827 is impossible, 1834 does not sound unlikely. But let us not grow any grey hairs over these uncertainties. Let us be content with the fact that Christian Kramer is certainly not John Baptist Cramer, and thus the composer of the famous études and sonatas is throughout eternity absolved from having to answer before Apollo for his "additional music" to Mozart's *Entführung*.

The pianoforte edition gives us the names of those who took part in the performance. Here they are:

Constanze	Miss Hughes
Blonde	Madame Vestris
Belmonte	Mr. Sapiro
Pedrillo	Mr. Wrench
Osmin	Mr. Penson

No name is given for the speaking part of the Pasha. But Mr. Kramer and Mr. Dimond are not satisfied with Mozart's six singers and add three more parts:

Alexis	Miss H. Cawse
Dr. O'Callagan	Mr. Power
Doris	?

Miss Hughes had, as we have seen, already sung Elvira in *Don Giovanni*. Miss Cawse is known as having sung the role of Puck in Weber's *Oberon* in 1826. Mr. Sapiro was one of the sons of the fashionable singing teacher in London round 1800. Madame Vestris needs no introduction; since 1815, despite her modest abilities as a singer, she had been one of the darlings of the London operatic stage and therefore her role even in this *Seraglio* must have been considered at least as important as the Constanze of Miss Hughes.

The *Entführung* appears to have had a great success. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1827 (Vol. 97, II, 554), reports:

Covent Garden. Nov. 24. *The Seraglio*, an Opera, the music of which is adapted from Mozart's *l'Enlèvement du Sérail*, was produced. The hero of the plot is a Sicilian nobleman, whose intended bride has fallen into the power of a Turkish Pacha; and the chief interest of the piece exists in his endeavours to reclaim her. The denouement closes with the discovery that she is the sister of the Pacha, who immediately gives her in marriage to her faithful lover. The music and scenery were admirable; and the piece was given out for repetition amidst universal plaudits.

Since we are interested to know the foundation for this success, we have no choice but to look closer into Mr. Christian Kramer's workshop. The man spared himself no labor and left, so to speak, not one stone standing upon another in Mozart's structure. He started in at once with the overture. To our astonishment the prelude to this "Turkish opera" begins with the solemn strains from the scene of the men in armour in the *Zauberflöte*, weakened by tied chords between the first and second measures. The choral melody is cut out and its place taken by an extension of the fugato, done with very dubious skill. Next follows the flute and drum solo of the trial by fire and water. Only after this does Mozart's *presto* get under way, shortened in the middle section, Belmonte's cavatina in the minor, for which Kramer substitutes a piece in E minor, apparently pizzicato, of his own free invention but related to Pedrillo's serenade.

Although Kramer begins the first act with Belmonte's cavatina, the delicate variations, the extensions, the free ending suggested by the "soft zephyrs"

of the text, give him no pause. Therefore he not only cuts the ritornello short but twists it horribly as if he were wringing the neck of a chicken. Pohl maintains that in place of Belmonte's aria Kramer wrote "a chorus that would be a better opening for the opera". The quotes are Pohl's irony. But this is not correct; Kramer's chorus now follows the aria. Peasants enter, genuine opera peasants, free from the day's toil and celebrating their happiness in song.

Away away neighbour,
Light wakes us to labour
And toil claims our day—
But eve soon advances
Then sport song and dances
Cares sweetly repair...

Into this pastoral roundelay "Alexis enters, beating a tabor" and of course singing, whereupon the chorus repeats its jingle. Belmonte is discovered, a stranger of manifestly peaceful intent, who gives himself out as a painter. In an arioso he greets the "grave matrons" and the "blooming maids", and through a dialogue between soloists and chorus, the scene works up to a Prize Song to the gentle god of wine.

Only then does Mozart have a chance to get in a few notes again: with Osmin's little song, garbled in the very first measure and a strophe stricken out; and with the duet which is grossly altered. Osmin's aria, "O these dandies hither roaming", is left out entirely, even the explosive ending that Mozart brought back at the end of the opera, but that, of course, Kramer will not do. Belmonte's next aria, of which Mozart was so proud, being cut out, there follow now the Turkish chorus and Constanze's aria, "Once sincerely", the coloratura passages much simplified for Miss Hughes, who was plainly no Catarina Cavalieri with her "geläufigen Gurgel". Then, after the dialogue, comes the final terzet with bits cut out here and there, for in Kramer's fingers the red pencil strikes at the least detail with untamable passion.

Madame Vestris opens the second act, not, however, with Mozart's "By tenderness and kindness" but with an arietta of two stanzas in G, "Come girls with smiling faces", composed by C. Kramer. The melodic contour of the closing line proves that Kramer must have listened carefully to Weber's *Freischütz*, which had already been produced at the Lyceum in July, 1824, and at Covent Garden under the direction of Weber himself in 1826. The duet between Blonde and Osmin is "adapted" but is on the whole one of the best preserved numbers. Likewise Constanze's recitative, "What a change". On the other hand her aria contains a wholly new section in D major. Her big aria, "Thou may'st learn to hate", is omitted here and transplanted to the last act. Then comes Blonde's "O what pleasure", not intolerably changed in the music but fitted by Dimond-Kramer with a text of no appropriate meaning (Dronish lover take to flight). Evidently Kramer's librettist or translator also suffers from an irresistible drive to reduce the text of arias or ensemble pieces arising out of a dramatic situation to any doggerel for a show

piece. This is especially unfortunate because the *Entführung* was the first opera in which Mozart would have nothing to do with incidental show pieces, but had come to know himself as a dramatist and had taken the greatest pains in shaping the libretto according to his new dramatic sense. For the London taste of 1825, however, the second act—witness Weber's *Oberon*—was precisely the place for show pieces. So Mr. Sapio now gets his chance to show off in a song that begins with an unmistakable reminiscence of Tamino's Picture Aria.

Andante

BELMONTE.

Con-stan - za, Con-stan - za, once

more, once more to be - hold thee

Miss Cawse (Alexis) follows with a cheerful andantino un poco scherzoso in two stanzas with a refrain for the chorus; then come Miss Hughes and Mr. Sapio in a scarcely less cheerful duet (Joy hath tears) with an interpolated cadenza and a kind of stretto; and immediately thereafter, since Pedrillo's "Haste to battle" is struck out, the drinking duet. This however is here enlarged to a terzet, thanks to the introduction of a wholly new personage, Dr. O'Callagan, the Irishman so plainly drunk that he can only fill in with a few miserable notes from time to time. Later on in the opera this O'Callagan is given a rather ambiguous role as second lover to Blonde, whose feelings apparently vacillate between him and Pedrillo.

Belmonte's "When the tears of joy are flowing" is done away with, and we come immediately to the quartet, Mozart's masterpiece in the combination of music and drama that holds the situation so delicately balanced. This fortunately is only slightly altered, but in the London of 1827 no second act could be allowed to end with such a piece. Kramer therefore composes a grand finale with chorus and ballet (Hark! the joyous bells are ringing). The merry-making develops into a Bacchanal, as in Wagner's *Venusberg*, with "grotesque Dancing of Satyrs and Bacchantes"; and for the conclusion the pasha, here called Ibrahim, is seen coming from the distance with a full military band. Was Kramer himself perhaps at the head of it? A terrific noise in C major, fireworks, and end of second act!

As in Mozart's opera, Belmonte opens the third act, not however with Mozart's heroic aria but with a creation of Kramer's, "Love, lift thy torch". This piece is wholly unlike Mozart, not only in the choice of key (A flat) but in its commonplace sentimentality, more like Weber's 1820 manner. Pedrillo's romance—"the celebrated ballad" as it is called in the pianoforte version—is "arranged expressly for Mad. Vestris" with spicy, peppery harmonies and is naturally finished off as a "number" or a show piece in a way that robs it completely of its dramatic function.

Well, now comes Kramer's weightiest contribution to Mozart's score that he must have felt was sorely in need of padding. This is the "Elopement Scena" composed as a sort of pantomime music to accompany a lively recitative or arioso. The tension that Mozart had built up here precisely by the "naturalistic" spoken dialogue was simply not worth Kramer's consideration. So be it; the effect is the same. The two pairs of lovers are caught, although Osmin's aria is cut out as if he dared not give rein to his triumph. Then instead of her duet with Belmonte, Constanze sings her great "Aria a la Bravura" from the second act. At first sight this does not seem altogether bad, yet it is bad because the big aria condemns all the other players to the role of mere onlookers while we are at a point in the action where everything presses towards a dénouement. The dénouement follows, to be sure; but before the horribly mutilated and altered Vaudeville, Blonde and O'Callagan (or Pedrillo) still have time enough for a jolly duet, by Kramer of course.

That is the form in which the *Entführung* was introduced to England. Plainly there is a long way to travel before we reach Edward Dent's production of the *Zauberflöte* in Cambridge, 1st December, 1911, or the productions of Mozart at Glyndebourne. But we had better be wary of casting too heavy a stone at Christian Kramer, Master and Conductor of His Majesty's Band. In its original form of a Viennese Singspiel of 1782 the *Entführung* would most certainly not have been understood in the London of 1827 and could have been nothing but a solemn fiasco. And granted Kramer's ruinous meddling with it, its predecessors from *Tito* to *Don Giovanni* had met with little better fate, although in the fifty years from 1780 to 1830 *opera seria* and *opera buffa* underwent far fewer changes than opera with spoken dialogue. This Singspiel, or *opéra-comique*, was meanwhile changing slowly into the Romantic Opera. The London *Entführung* is a sister work to Weber's *Oberon*, the "British" form of which Weber, who created it, by no means regarded as final. But again, no Pharisaical stoning of the British or London taste of the time. We know what happened to the *Zauberflöte* in Paris between 1801 and 1827, and to *Don Giovanni* from 1805 and on. We know the sad fate of *Così fan tutte* in all European countries, even down to our own day. We have but to read Berlioz's report on the first performance of the *Entführung* at the Théâtre-Lyrique (*A travers chants*, 19th May, 1859):

L'Enlèvement, au dire de presque tous nos confrères de la critique musicale, a été exécuté au Théâtre-Lyrique avec la plus scrupuleuse fidélité. On a seulement mis en deux actes la pièce qui était en trois, interverti l'ordre de

succession de quelques morceaux, retiré un grand air du rôle de madame Meillet pour le faire passer dans celui de madame Ugalde, et placé entre les deux actes la fameuse marche turque si connue des pianistes qui jouent Mozart.

Allons! à la bonne heure! voilà ce qu'on doit appeler une scrupuleuse fidélité!...

But even in Germany the record is not clean. In a long and arduous career as critic before the dawn of "the Reich that was to last a thousand years", I never heard Belmonte's third act aria. Everywhere "von der Maas bis an die Memel" the B-flat aria from the second act was put in its stead, where it is ludicrously out of place. How says the Apostle?

For all have sinned and come short of
the glory of God.

A Note on the "Additional Accompaniments"

BY

ARTHUR HUTCHINGS

JUST before the war, while writing some articles on Mozart's piano concertos, I pleaded with pianist-readers not to regard themselves as the first cause of performance; in the later type of concerto, less ritornellic, less highly organized than Mozart's, the player is put in high relief and is nursed by orchestra and conductor. In Mozartian concerto, I asked the player to feel like his predecessor, the continuo-man, merely *primus inter pares*, and to study from the score and not just from the convenient piano part. He would then feel himself to be functional to the texture, contributing to conversation, decorating or completing wind phrases, holding fluid string writing by the periodic impact of hammers, as well as advancing a movement now and again and setting an example to be imitated. So many performances, even those recorded by pianists whose fees top the bill, indulge in vagaries of tempo, are self-important, didactic, insolent, sentimental, vulgar. I hoped that recognition of differences in scoring between Mozartian and romantic concerto, which brought Spohr's jibe that Mozart wrote "concertos for piano and wind instruments", would help piano soloists to understand their function in Mozartian concerto more clearly.

My difficulty then was to find any work in which one could examine Mozart's scoring as a separate art. This is much more easy with other composers. We can examine Brahms' attempt to think of the orchestra as a symphonic whole from which melodic lines have to stand out, and we can compare a two-piano version of his music with his orchestral version. We can examine Rimsky-Korsakov's deliberate choice of certain registers in an instrumental group, and his analysis of the whole palette into groups and sub-groups, his omission at this or that place of such groups as will detract from maximum luminosity, his sharp contrast of one texture with another—*pizzicato* with *arco*, double-tonguing with *tenuto*, brass *sforzando* with wood *pianissimo*. We can trace Mahler's wonderful care in achieving balance so that, in a work like the *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen*, a huge orchestra accompanies a single voice without incongruity. We could almost write what we suppose to be Mahler's first pencil sketch, and then see where he extended one horn part to *pp*, and brought in a second.

In a word, most great orchestrators limited their conceptions to their instrumental ideals, some, like Brahms, first writing what must be called "abstract" music and then surmounting definite problems of scoring—balance, tone colour, variety, etc. With Mozart such problems do not seem to exist. He may have been lucky; the band may have been at just the right stage of development to make instrumental thinking but one element in musical thinking as a whole, as it is to a composer writing a chamber work. But if Mozart's scoring is uniquely functional by luck and not management, why is not Beethoven's scoring for the same sized orchestra undistinguishable from

Mozart's? We know that it is distinguishable, and immediately so. I am not attempting to regard Beethoven's scoring as better or worse than Mozart's;

Ex. 1

Flute

Clarinets (Transposed)

Bassoons (Translated)

Bass voice

dark-ness have seen a great Light

Strings

p

The peo-ple that walk-ed in dark-ness, in

dark-ness, the peo-ple that walk-ed in

I have in mind, however, that problems of balance and colour are involved in the rehearsal of a Beethoven overture in a way not obvious with Mozart;

a perfunctory studio performance of Mozart does not show its inadequacy so badly as does a similar treatment of Beethoven, but what if we altered the flute to oboe, or clarinets to oboes? Were there differences in size of band, we should not be set asking these questions. Schubert, in the great C major symphony, which he had no chance of hearing, makes marvellous play with his trombones in the introduction, but gives conductors some trouble with them afterwards. Against this we have the memory of Mozart's fine use of trombones—not, however, as part of a brass family, which hardly existed as such even in Beethoven's day.

It seems strange to go as far afield as the "additional accompaniments" made by Mozart to Handel's *Messiah* in order to examine Mozart's scoring; but where else are we to look for deliberate scoring apart from musical thinking as a whole? They are *applied* orchestral technique.

Forced recently to spend an hour in Nottingham while changing trains, I bought for 1s. 6d. in a second-hand shop, the first Breitkopf and Härtel full score of *Messiah*, which must have been known to van Swieten and Burney. It was the score used by Prout when he tried to collate the various additions and alterations to Mozart's additions, as far as they had accrued by 1902 (Beecham uses the Prout score). This first printed German score may have some additions by John Adam Hiller, 1728–1804, not to be confused with the Victorian Hiller who wrote music for the opening of the Albert Hall. Whereas van Swieten was an aristocratic amateur with a connoisseur's interest in Bach and Handel from which Mozart profited, J. A. Hiller had been a poor boy who rose by his talents, and like Henry Coward in Sheffield, did fine work by securing festival performances of Handel's oratorios, as well as works by Hasse, Graun, and others, in Berlin, Breslau, and chiefly his main place of work, Leipzig. A glance at the extracts used for illustration in this article, however, can leave little doubt that in them the additions are pure Mozart.

To study the "additional accompaniments" is to recognize that they are not merely additional. We may think they are impudent, for they are indications of what Mozart thought "good orchestration" to replace "crude orchestration". Let us consider the very portions which receive most expressions of disapproval.

First I have quoted a passage from "The people that walked in darkness", which purists like to be played *tasto solo*, though heaven knows what top-dressing it received from Handel's clavecinist. The question to answer here is not "Had Mozart any right to do it?" but "Does it not make an exquisite whole?" From this let us turn to "The trumpet shall sound" (*Ex. 2*) which

Ex. 2

Tr.

2 Horns

Bass

Solo

he presumed to foreshorten in the prelude. To save the trumpeter's lip? To avoid what he thought a tautologous repetition? We do not know. What we can tell, both from this or the other illustration, or from the trumpet and drum parts of "Why do the heathen so furiously rage", is the difference between baroque and rococo scoring. There may be justification for the purist's complaint that baroque music should be scored in the baroque manner and we may note that Mozart himself, in the C minor Mass and in the Requiem, as much as in the fantasias for mechanical organ, was forced by sheer sense of style to imitate the baroque manner. It was this sense of style, this acute musical perception, that made his counterpoint so easy whereas Beethoven's counterpoint was awkward. He had nothing of our antiquarian aesthetic, and his approach to counterpoint was as harmonic as Beethoven's or Cherubini's whose worked exercises are damnable travesties of true counterpoint merely because he had no stylistic perception.

It is dangerous to use the word "baroque". Musical baroque is a convenient label for the broad balance of harmony, ornament, mass, and counterpoint in the age of Bach and Handel. Architectural baroque is by no means a matter of broad masses and lines, and the analogy should not be pushed. All one seeks is the convenient label which musical histories do not provide. Thus the organ is essentially a baroque instrument, the music which still suits it best being that written in broad masses and lines. We learn the instrument chiefly to play Bach, just as north country choral societies foregather chiefly to sing another baroque form, the oratorio chorus, and no modern choruses, not even those written by Elgar or Vaughan Williams, can quite recapture Handelian splendour without the conscious imitation which Mozart himself shows.

But the older orchestra? No; Mozart thought it dull, inelegant, lacking variety or taste. He shared the general contempt for a string body with its bass reinforced by a crowd of bassoons, its treble by a crowd of oboes, its rhythm by the clank of the clavecin, its variety by additional solo trumpet or solo flute. Rococo taste, with its graceful linear writing, its little wind quirks and curves, its inner parts, its variety of bowings and phrasings and rests within the string texture, its nuances, its interplay of parts and phrases, its conversations between wood-wind and strings, its alternations of more than two dynamic strengths—these were civilised improvements.

To us there is one glory of the sun and another of the moon and stars; both the older and the Mozartian conception are dated and timeless. In Mozart's additions we see what we cannot improve, though we may scrap them altogether and play what we *think* to be Handel. In the additional accompaniments we see the graining done upon the wood; elsewhere wood and graining confront us as one art. He who would write about Mozart and the orchestra can but fill his pages with musical quotations and stand aside as a showman. A single miniature score of, say, the C minor piano Concerto, which should be the obligatory possession of the impecunious student (along with that of *Casse noisette*) will reveal the all and the nothing one can teach about Mozart's instrumental felicity.

Let one final point, to be seen either in the score of *Messiah* or in the concertos, illustrate Mozart's uniqueness. In any other composer one would look for tacklings of the problems of balance and colour in the heaviest parts of a score. But it is precisely in the more tempestuous places and concertos, that Mozart writes most virtuosically for the strings; their "operatic" *sforzandi*, syncopations, tremolo bowings and sudden silences, impart character to these places and works; the function of the wind instruments lies in beautiful curves and rococo ornaments, pathetically sustained chords and notes, and little dialogues. But the wind parts are sublimely essential. Omit a clarinet or a flute and there is a blank space in the sound, as if an explosion had brought down a cornice in a city church or a wainscot in a guild hall. Change a pair of clarinets for a pair of oboes and we change the whole character of a Mozartian piece.

Two Minuets by Attwood, with corrections by Mozart

BY

C. B. OLDMAN

THE two little pieces which are here printed for the first time are taken from the collection of exercises worked by Thomas Attwood (1765-1838) whilst he was a pupil of Mozart in Vienna from 1785 to 1787. This collection was

I

ATTWOOD

MINUETTO

The musical score for Minuetto I is written in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It consists of four systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system starts with a treble staff and a bass staff. The second system has a treble staff and a bass staff. The third system has a treble staff and a bass staff. The fourth system has a treble staff and a bass staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'f' and 'p'.

* For B \flat read B natural.

bequeathed by Attwood to Sir John Goss, his successor as organist of St. Paul's, was subsequently acquired from Goss' widow by Sir Frederick Bridge, and was purchased by the present writer when Sir Frederick's library was sold in 1924.*

* For a detailed account of the collection the reader is referred to "Thomas Attwood's Studies with Mozart" in *Gedenkboek aangeboden aan Dr. D. F. Scheurleer op zijn 70sten verjaardag* (The Hague, 1925).

There is something of a mystery about Attwood's early career. As a chorister of the Chapel Royal he had the good fortune to attract the notice of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Fourth, and in 1783 was sent at his expense to Italy to pursue his musical studies there. There is nothing strange about that, though one can hardly imagine it happening nowadays;

I MOZART

MINUETTO

* For B \flat read B natural.

what is strange is that Attwood should have spent two years with Neapolitan masters, one of them the renowned Latilla, without learning anything. Perhaps that is saying too much, but the fact remains that when in the summer of 1785 he left Naples for Vienna and induced Mozart to take him as a pupil, his new master found it necessary to make him start at the very beginning, and for his first exercise got him to write out the major and minor scales and to mark the places where semitones occur. Thereafter he took him, by regular stages but at a rapidly increasing tempo, through the traditional course of elementary harmony and counterpoint. These exercises show that Mozart, contrary to what might have been expected, was a careful and methodical teacher, and that Attwood was not long in profiting from his instruction.

Certainly the contrast between his first fumbling efforts and the little pieces he wrote later under Mozart's guidance is astonishing. One of these maturer pieces, a little minuet in C, which Mozart rewrote completely, is already fairly well known: it was published in facsimile as a frontispiece to Thomas F. Dunhill's *Chamber Music*, and Mozart's version of it has now been accorded the honour of a mention in Köchel (Köchel-Einstein, No. 485a). The two pieces here printed are less remarkable in themselves, but they are more

II

ATTWOOD

MINUETTO

representative of the general character of the collection. They too were originally written on four staves, as though for string quartet, but have been here compressed, partly to save space and partly for the convenience of the amateur pianist. Guide-lines have been introduced, where necessary, to indicate the progression of the parts.

According to Michael Kelly, Mozart gave his pupil a splendid testimonial. "Attwood", he said "is a young man for whom I have a sincere affection and esteem; he conducts himself with great propriety, and I have much pleasure in telling you, that he partakes more of my style than any scholar I have ever had; and I predict that he will prove a sound musician". I suspect that Mozart had had before him something more substantial than the brief pieces

now preserved in Attwood's exercise books, possibly some of the piano Trios (Op. 1) or violin Sonatas (Op. 2) which he published in London soon after his return; but even in these humbler attempts some faint traces of the master's influence may be detected. Notice, for example, in No. I of the pieces here printed, the undulating movement of the inner parts in the middle section

II

MINUETTO MOZART

Alternative to bar 21

and the characteristic alternations of *forte* and *piano*; and in No. II the free but effective use of imitation, so familiar a device in the Trios of Mozart's own Minuets. (Elsewhere Mozart's chromatic progressions are studiously imitated, even to the point of parody.)

Mozart's corrections and improvements may be left to speak for themselves—the former are mostly such as any teacher would make—but it is worth noting that, as with his own compositions, when Mozart rewrites he almost always simplifies. It would be hard to find a better example of this process than the last eight bars of No. I.

Carl Nielsen

A Danish Composer

BY

KNUD JEPPESEN

AMONG modern Scandinavian composers the Finlander Jean Sibelius is undoubtedly the most famous, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world. In the Scandinavian countries, however, his contemporary, the Dane, Carl Nielsen (1865-1931), is largely considered at least his equal in importance, and has there exercised perhaps even greater influence upon the evolution of music. While Sibelius, though in a very personal way, carried on the romantic symphonic traditions with Tchaikovsky as his direct predecessor, Carl Nielsen was the first in the Scandinavian world to oppose musical romanticism.

He was born on the 9th of June, 1865, at Nørre Lyndelse, a small village on the island of Funen. His father was a house painter and country fiddler. His parents were very poor and had a great number of children to provide for, and so the lad soon had to earn his own living as a shepherd boy. His musical gifts being, however, early discovered, he received some instruction on the violin by the village schoolmaster, and while still a boy, became a member of a military brass band at Odense, the capital city of Funen. Here he remained for nearly four years until in 1884, with the support of some friends, he was admitted to the Royal Conservatorium of Copenhagen.

At the close of 1886 he left the Conservatorium. He had gradually realized that he wanted to be a composer. In 1888 his first great orchestral work, the *Suite* for Strings, Op. 1, was performed. It was well received; everybody at once saw that a new, vigorous talent was coming to the fore. Later, when he had found his own personal style, their kindness considerably cooled. As a rule the wind was adverse. However, he always had a small indomitable phalanx of ardent worshippers, but it was only in the last years of his life, when he had long since won a name abroad, that a wider recognition was accorded him in his own country. As a composer he could not earn his living, but had to rely on his violin, and when a vacancy occurred for a second violin in the Orchestra of the Royal Theatre he competed for the appointment and won. The very first evening he played at the theatre, a laurel wreath aimed at the stage and intended for an opera singer whose jubilee was being celebrated, went astray and landed on the shoulders of the second violin just making his debut—a fine symbolic gesture of fate which was not without a parallel in Carl Nielsen's later life, and is only noted here, because he has often been regarded as a mere plodder, not blessed with "inspiration" or by mystical powers. In reality, like all great minds, he was a man to whom things happened, and his life was a fairy tale no less than that of Hans Andersen.

In 1890 Carl Nielsen received a state subsidy and travelled in Germany, France, and Italy. In Paris he made the acquaintance of the young Danish sculptress Anne Marie Brodersen and shortly after married her. With her

fearless and daring character and sense of the spacious in life as well as in art, she proved an excellent support for him in the years that followed. On his return home he resumed his work in the orchestra. In 1902 his first opera *Saul and David*, was performed at the Royal Theatre. On that occasion he himself conducted and made his mark as leader of the orchestra. It was only natural therefore that attention should be directed to him when upon the retirement of Johan Svendsen in 1908 a vacancy occurred as conductor at the Royal Opera. Carl Nielsen accepted the appointment and filled the post till 1914. His work as an opera conductor, however, did not afford the satisfaction to himself and others that he had expected. This was partly due to circumstances over which he had no control, but partly also, and perhaps mainly, to the special character of his genius. Like all great creative artists he was one-sided in taste, and he could only make a success of music with which he was in sympathy. By nature he was introspective and dreamy, and lacked the light touch and insouciance besides the official skill and expedition required to carry off a highly varied and at times rather trite repertory. When, however, on rare occasions Carl Nielsen conducted a composition with which he could wholly identify himself, it was an unforgettable experience for the audience. In 1915 Nielsen took over the post of conductor to the Musical Society. Here his abilities showed to much greater advantage than at the Opera, for he could choose his repertoire more freely and could give vent to his love of the great classics, above all Mozart, the one to whom he was most devoted. Thus his performance of the Symphony in G minor was unequalled: while his deeply inspired direction of Handel's *Acis and Galatea* and of the symphonies of Brahms will not be easily forgotten. Great events also in Danish musical life were the evenings when he first produced his fourth and fifth symphonies with the Musical Society. When the head of the Conservatorium, Otto Malling, suddenly died in the autumn of 1915 it was natural to offer the post to Carl Nielsen. He became a member of the board of directors in January, 1916, and took over part of the instruction in musical theory, though he gave up these lessons a few years later, as composition occupied him more and more. He remained at his post on the board of directors until his death, however, and from 1930 was its president.

After many years of indifference or hostility to his music recognition came at last (about 1915) and all the external honours and fame connected with it. On his sixtieth anniversary, when there was a fête and torchlight procession in his honour, he had become the great central figure in Danish music. But to whatever heights he rose, and however widely his name became known in the world, he still remained the same simple and natural man, the country fiddler's son from Nørre Lyndelse. Simple only in this particular sense, for there has hardly been any one in Denmark who lived a human life more spiritually profound or more intensely emotional than his. Great in his earnestness, great in his gaiety. His earnestness was perhaps least displayed, and only those who became really intimate with him knew that it was the strong keynote in his apparently always gay and cheerful mind. An inflexible sternness, pertinence, and perseverance to the bitter end, and an indomitable

will always to attain and yield the highest were the dominant features of his character. And he was always ready to start all over again. Yet he wanted to take part in everything, try everything, and learn from everything. This boy from the village school was widely read and had a comprehensive culture which many academically trained men might envy. Strenuously, inch by inch, he had to fight for everything he acquired. But he was that happy mixture of intuition, inspiration, strong intelligence and unremitting industry that we call genius. His antagonists always asserted—as it has at first been asserted of great creative musicians in all ages that his music was construction, mere brainwork. And yet the truth is that with all his reticence and masculine restraint he is perhaps the deepest and warmest lyrical musician Danish music has ever known. In his sixtieth year Carl Nielsen had thus fully achieved what had been his dream as a shepherd boy in the meadows of Funen. But now, at the height of his life, when he was apparently in unimpaired enjoyment of the health and vigour inherited from his peasant forefathers, fate overtook him. In the spring of 1926, while he was conducting a concert of his own compositions in the capital city of his native island, he had a violent heart attack. He had to break off the concert and became a marked man. He could not give himself the rest he needed, he worked on as before, looking death firmly in the eye, and in his last years produced some of his most stupendous and profoundest works. In the late summer of 1931 the heart attacks increased alarmingly in intensity and frequency, and on 3rd October he died. All Danish lovers of music gathered round his bier in the Cathedral of Copenhagen. At his death it was felt that a stillness would fall upon Denmark. The musician who was to take over his inheritance, the grand style in Danish music, was not yet in sight.

When at the close of the 80's Carl Nielsen began his work as a composer, Danish musical life was entirely dominated by the dioscuroi N. W. Gade (1817-1890) and I. P. E. Hartmann (1805-1900). These two grand old men still reposed on their well-deserved laurels, and it was almost impossible for the younger composers to impress themselves on the public mind against this background. They had to resign themselves to walk in the shadow of the old composers and come to terms with the current late romantic style. It took the keen and fresh eye of a Carl Nielsen to see that it could be otherwise. This impartial view was of course in the first place due to his remarkable, independent personality, but was no doubt also favoured by the circumstances of his upbringing. Carl Nielsen was the first Danish composer sprung from peasant stock in modern times, he grew up in rural isolation, and such circumstances as a rule induce a certain conservatism which is not always merely a consequence of inferior technical skill and an imperfect external organization of musical life, but perhaps even more of a certain healthy poise and slowness of response, a taste which cannot be rushed in a trice. In Carl Nielsen's part of the country, people had as yet only got to the Viennese classics in the higher music, and this became of signal importance for him; his sympathy with these had been established for good before he came in contact with the musical romanticism of Copenhagen. Carl Nielsen's earliest works are entirely in

the style of Haydn and Mozart, and it was not until he came to Copenhagen that he came in close contact with contemporary music of which especially that of Brahms and Johan Svendsen made a deep impression on him, as is especially apparent in his works from about 1890. It cannot, however, be said emphatically enough that all these "influences" were only of a superficial character. Behind it all there stirred and seethed a strong personality incessantly striving and struggling to find its own form, which did indeed partly find it, though it was not yet under complete control. Already the great German conductor Hans von Bülow, who on a visit to Copenhagen had an opportunity of hearing Carl Nielsen's string quintet, said that he here found that touch of Brahms which he missed in Svendsen's work. No doubt he meant that desire for absorption and concentration to which these early works bear witness and which was to carry Nielsen so much farther forward than his predecessors in Scandinavian music.

It is difficult to divide Carl Nielsen's works into strictly limited periods, many of his individual compositions actually forming periods by themselves. But as far as his early works are concerned, they seem to range themselves naturally in a group, crowned and terminated by the first Symphony (in G minor, Op. 7). Indeed, there is good reason to regard all these compositions as a kind of introduction to or preparation for the Symphony. For in the latter we meet everywhere with a resumption of phrases and motives only now to be given their final form. But if we want to understand the enormous progress made in the direction of artistic sureness and independence from the beginning of this group to the end, we need only compare the secondary theme in the first movement of the G-minor Quartet (1888) with the corresponding theme in the Symphony. They are fundamentally the same in both passages—but what a tremendous distance between them in meaning. As Shakespeare says: ripeness is all. With the Symphony in G minor Carl Nielsen has overcome his youthful uncertainty and has attained to mastery. He began to work at it about 1892; having been occupied previously only with chamber music (in which we must, in fact, include the *Suite* for strings). He felt tremendously attracted by the symphonic form; for in 1889 he had attempted to write a symphony, but failed to complete it. The first movement is still preserved in manuscript and has been performed under the title of "Symphonic Rhapsody for Orchestra" (it was not only the title that savoured of Svendsen). He was really a little afraid of venturing once more, he doubted his strength. "Nonsense", declared Svendsen, and the symphony was in fact successfully written and first performed by the Orchestra of the Royal Theatre in 1894 conducted by Svendsen himself. Formally the composition is entirely in the classical style: allegro (even with a repeat after the exposition), andante, scherzo, finale. But the contents are something quite new and revolutionary. The fact alone that a symphony in G minor began and ended with a chord in C major was something quite unheard of at that time. Here we see the first sign of Carl Nielsen's remarkable conception of the modes which so deeply marks his later development. In the main it probably signifies a reaction against the leading-tone harmony then prevalent in late

romanticism (especially as it had been expressed by Richard Wagner and his successors with whom it had gradually become an obsession). Thus Carl Nielsen happens (perhaps not quite consciously) to cross the way of the primitive pre-harmonic music, and in its modulation his art acquires a certain resemblance to the modes of the Middle Ages, without, however, being theoretically determined by them. In the Symphony too we already see clearly Carl Nielsen's dominant melodic tendency, the desire for hale and hearty melody due to a primitive sense of the inexhaustible possibilities of expression of the basic intervals. He himself once said: "The thing is to be able to use a pure fifth in such a way that no one thinks he has ever heard that interval before". This is, in brief, the programme of his music as it was from the very beginning. The musical elements are regarded by most people as simple, and do not move them to further reflection. Not so with Carl Nielsen. He had received the gift of wondering, peculiar to genius; the gift of accepting things directly without any intermediary. The power which others sought in vain by losing themselves in complexities, he found lying at his feet in the eternal force and beauty of the elementary. And in an age where the sense of the interval had been levelled to vanishing point, Carl Nielsen now built up a melodic music which was based on the most delicate sense of the values of the individual intervals and the strictest economy in their use. Another melodic peculiarity which manifests itself already in the first Symphony (the scherzo theme) and marks his whole future development, is what might be called the periheletic tone-centering principle. By this we mean that the various notes adhere to a central note round which, as it were, they group themselves and from which they only reluctantly withdraw, perhaps to attach themselves to another central note.

The next great work after the Symphony is the choral work *Hymnus amoris* (Op. 12, written about 1896, first performed by the Musical Society in 1897). With grandly conceived polyphonic choruses (the first in this style written in Denmark since Buxtehude) the composer in broad frescoes and clear colours paints the ages of love from childhood to old age, and finally in a paeon of ecstasy lets profane love soar aloft to a meeting with heavenly love. Between these two monumental works there are several smaller ones no less important in kind, thus the Ludvig Holstein songs (Op. 10, 1894), some of the richest and most profoundly moving lyrical music to Danish words, the violin Sonata in A major (Op. 9, 1895), and the string Quartet in E flat (Op. 14, 1896), with the curiously introspective andante, perhaps Nielsen's most beautiful slow movement.

The autumn of 1902 saw the performance of two large new works, the opera *Saul and David* (to the text of Einar Christiansen) and Symphony No. 2, "The Four Temperaments". The opera is undoubtedly the most remarkable musical dramatic work written for the Danish stage—altogether one of the most distinctive in world literature. It is stern and noble in style without depending on stage effects. It commits deadly sins both against Wagnerian dramaturgy (large broadly constructed choral fugues where the "action" is arrested) and from the point of view of the Italian opera (absolute stinting of

the singers as far as swelling cantilenas and fermatas are concerned) and yet contrives to get safely through. The fact is that it is composed by a genuine musical dramatist who has been able to pounce upon the decisive point: the contrasting of the two principal figures. The characterization of Saul is especially grand (the climax, his monologue in the first act). A tone of Old Testament dignity pervades the whole work and the joys and sorrows of Israel are depicted almost with the power of a Handel in the great choral scenes. The Symphony in four movements (again the classical order) gives expression to the four traditional types of temperament. Brilliant symphonic work is especially seen in the first movement (*Allegro collerico*); it is composed with immense verve and as it were in one breath. In the slow movement (*malinconico*) we first meet, fully developed, an effect which is quite peculiar to Nielsen (it is found in germ as far back as the violin Sonata, Opus 9). The clashing of two different modes. In his later works Carl Nielsen employs this principle with increasing audacity, always trying, however, to consolidate such a momentary polytonal situation by making each of the two conflicting tonal spheres as plastic as possible, by which full clarity is preserved and the fresh contrast between the modes flashes in bright colours.

Carl Nielsen's appetite for dramatic composition had now been whetted and immediately after *Saul and David* he began another work for the stage, this time a comic opera *Masquerade*. The text was written by Vilhelm Andersen after Holberg's classical comedy. The work was like play to the composer—thus the whole of the second act was composed and orchestrated in the course of three weeks, and the sparkling, festive overture was written in almost Mozartian record time. In 1906 the work was ready for performance: all the theatrical people, curiously enough, predicted failure, and after the full rehearsal even the composer, who was conducting, almost lost faith in his work. Nevertheless it scored a tremendous success, and since then the opera has belonged to the permanent repertory of the Danish stage, indeed it has long since become *the* modern national opera. As a matter of fact it may be said that there has hardly in recent times, either in Denmark or abroad, been written anything equal to the first act, which both musically and dramatically is only matched by the best classical *opera buffa*. Unfortunately the second and third acts are decidedly weaker—principally on account of a loose and vague scenic construction—Carl Nielsen realised this himself and entertained plans to reconstruct the last act. However, he had difficulty in changing anything he had once published; he preferred to write something entirely new and better—but unfortunately failed to get very far with a new comic opera on which he was engaged during the last years of his life. With *Masquerade* he is in his prime. Now all fields are turning golden for the harvest, and there is a curious settled tranquillity and sweetness about everything he produces. This applies above all to his third Symphony "*Expansiva*" (first performed by the orchestra of the Royal Theatre under the direction of the composer in 1912). It is a kind of pastoral in a broad symphonic style, a bucolic *Te Deum*. As regards harmony between form and substance Carl Nielsen has never reached greater heights than in the first movement of this

Symphony, the most masterly ever written by him. Lovely works from this happy period are also the violin Concerto (about 1911) and the last string Quartet in F major.

It is not possible to mention all Nielsen's important works, only those which were of special interest in his development shall be briefly enumerated. To these belong in the first place the three symphonies following the "Espaniva". In "The Inextinguishable" (written in 1914-16, first performance in February, 1916) the tension is more violent, the discharges more explosive, than in any previous work of his. The style is more polyphonic and organically genetic than in the earlier symphonies with their predominantly architectural bias. This style is continued with increasing boldness in the fifth Symphony (1922). Here Nielsen abandons the four movement arrangement. The Symphony consists of two large sections only, expressing nature mysticism, partly sombre (Carl Nielsen called the introduction a dark idyll), partly flashing like northern lights. The first movement is constructed with an icy consistency and magnificent contrapuntal mastery in the combination of the themes. The second movement is remarkable for its teeming life throughout (a fantastic effect is created especially by the interplay between wood-wind chords and gigantic passages for strings). The sixth and last Symphony (composed 1924-25) begins with a curiously gentle theme of almost childlike innocence, but soon we are in very deep waters—in reality the key-note is terribly tragic. The first movement is technically one of the most beautifully made passages in a thematic respect that Nielsen ever composed. As second movement there follows a quite short "humoresque" (composed mainly for percussive instruments)—a strange whim, whose justification in the symphonic style does not seem obvious. After a short adagio (*Proposta seria*), the finale is formed of a long variation movement, wildly agitated and marked by waywardness and a grim mocking humour.

Among the principal works of the last period must finally be mentioned the Concerto for clarinet and orchestra (1928) and the swan song: the vast composition for the organ called "Commotio" in which he lets all his enormous polyphonic skill and wealth of profound thought shine forth for the last time.

Carl Nielsen's life work would, however, be imperfectly described without a few words about his activities as a popular composer. Sprung from the people, he preserved a remarkable power of striking its own note. It was especially after his friend Thomas Laub had induced him to collaborate (the fine fruit of this collaboration being the two collections *Twenty Danish Songs*, 1915 and 1916), that he came in close contact with this work, so important for our musical education. Before that he had, however, written melodies which quickly became a national treasure. Especially in his last years (as if towards the close of life he inclined towards its beginning) he produced a mass of popular melodies, simple and pithy, that spread rapidly all over the country and became favourites, widely sung as few others. His power of mastering the most artistic, the most complicated, as well as the simplest musical form is perhaps one of the most striking signs of his greatness.

It still remains to mention his literary work, his autobiography *My Childhood in Funen* (1927)—one of the first and most important Danish books of its kind—and *Living Music* (1927) where in a profoundly original and fascinating way he formulates his artistic creed.

If we review Carl Nielsen's life work it must be said that there is hardly any form of music that he did not master, and wherever he went he was able to say something new and decisive. The nucleus of his genius, however, is the impartiality of his eye and the purity of his will, qualities which he shares with two other peasant boys from Funen: Rasmus Rask, the linguist, and Hans Andersen, and which ranges him with them as one of the greatest of Denmark's sons, whose contribution, like theirs, should be given a chance to assert itself in a wider, international sphere.

Michel de Toulouze

The First Printer of Measured Music?

BY

KATHI MEYER

IN 1936 Victor Scholderer published, from the Library of the Royal College of Physicians, a French Incunabula which had been hitherto unknown: *L'Art et instruction de bien dancier*, a dance book, printed by Michel de Toulouze, 1488 (?) at Paris. Scholderer has given in the introduction a careful description and valuation of the book as incunabula. It proved besides to be of the highest interest to musicologists, and the following article is intended as a supplement from this point of view.

The book, of twelve leaves, is important in two ways:

(1) It is the first item we know of so far that contains printing from movable type to indicate measured music, musical notes of different values.

Hitherto Petrucci, after 1500, was supposed to be the first to print measured music from movable type.

(2) Also the content of the little volume is of extreme importance; it is for the greater part identical with the famous Brussels manuscript of basses dances which once belonged to Marguerite d'Autriche,¹ and it is the long sought model from which Robert Coplande made the translation of his *Maner of dauncynge of bace daunces*, London, 1521.²

The book starts with an introduction of 2½ leaves, printed text; then follow 8½ leaves with music. The musical part consists of 49 melodies. The first 3½ leaves or seven pages of the music are printed in Gregorian notation; with no rhythmical values indicated in the notes. Each melody has a title; behind the title we are told of how many notes the melody consists; further into how many sections the melody has to be divided, and whether these sections are "complete" or "incomplete". Below the tunes the order of the steps is printed in letters which are explained at the end of the introduction. The different order of the steps makes a melody complete or incomplete.

The next two pages are printed in measured values; the rest, again, uses Gregorian notation.

The name of the printer is found in the colophon: Michel de Toulouze. As is the case with most of the earlier printers, almost nothing is known about his life. Toulouze is mentioned in four documents from which we learn (1) that he rented a house in Paris in 1496 in rue des Amandiers or Mont S. Geneviève à l'image de Saint Jean; (2) that in 1497, he obtained permission to build two balconies in the front of the house; (3) that in the testament of

¹ Ed. by Ernest Closson for the 'Société de bibliophiles et iconophiles de Belgique', 1912.

² Printed in *Captain Cox, his ballads and books*, or Robert Laneham's *Letter*, A.D. 1575, re-edited by Frederick J. Furnivall, for the Ballad Society, London, 1871.

Guillaume Guerson, 1503, a debt by Toulouze to Guerson is ceded to the creditors of Guerson; (4) that in 1505 Toulouze is compelled to sell his house.

For further information we have only the colophons of Toulouze's books, which in several cases give the address so that we can date the books in connexion with document no. 1, as having been printed before or after December, 1496.

Few of Toulouze's books are dated, the earliest in 1482, and three in 1499. Claudin,³ who mentions Toulouze among the smaller Paris printing shops, lists seven of his books only, and thus queries whether the date 1482 is a misprint for 1492; because seven books would be too poor an output for 18 years of activity (1482-1500). But, to-day, we know 17 publications of Toulouze, a list that makes the early dates of 1482 and 1488(?) more probable.

We give a short list, in alphabetical order of the books either signed by or attributed to him.

1. Andrelinus, Publius Faustus Foroloviensis. *De captivitate Ludovici Sforza*. Toulouze (1500). Polain 195; GK 1861.
2. Andrelinus, Publius Faustus. *De moralibus et intellectualibus virtutibus*. Toulouze for Denis Roce (1499). New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib.; with the sign of Roce.
3. Andrelinus, Publius Faustus. *De obitu Caroli VIII deploratio*. Toulouze (1499). GK 1885.
4. *L'Art et instruction de bien dancier*. Toulouze (1488?). London, Royal College of Physicians.
5. Beroaldus, Philippus. *De foelicitate*. (Toulouze &) Roce (1499). Polain 619; in GK 4137 ascribed to Gaspard Philippe.
6. Beroaldus, Philippus. *Orationes et poemata a Jodoco Badio Ascensio eredita*. (Toulouze for) Roce 1499. Polain 624; Renouard, Badius II, 161; GK 4147. This work which includes "Laus de musica", is listed by Joh. Wolf in the facsimile edition of Caza's treatise.
7. Chabutius, Guillelmus de Langres, M.A. at the Sorbonne. *Semita diversa quatuor viarum*. Toulouze (before 1496). Claudin II, 308; Polain 3510; GK 6539; with the sign of Toulouze.
8. Clarius, Hieronymus. *Casus brevis institutionum* (a law book). Toulouze, 1482. Claudin II, 308-9.
9. Guerson, Guillaume. *Devote contemplation*. (Toulouze ca. 1500.) Campbell in Bibliophile Belge 12 (ser. 2, 3), 1856; Claudin II, 326; Bruxelles Bibl. Royale; Cat. Rothschild I, 1050; Bibl. Pichon, 1897, n.919.
10. Guerson, Guillaume. *Noelz tres excelens et contemplatifz*. (Toulouze ca. 1500.) Campbell, *loc. cit.*; Bruxelles Bibl. Royale; Cat. Rothschild I, 1016; Bibl. Pichon, 1897, no. 918.
11. Guerson, Guillaume. *Missae solemniiores totius anni*. Toulouze (ca. 1500). Polain 1764.
12. Guerson, Guillaume. *Utilissime regules*. Toulouze (ca. 1500). Polain 1763; Brit. Mus.
13. Persius Flaccus. *Satires*. Claudin II; Barbier mentions as first edition the translation by Abel Foulon, 1513-1563, published 1544.
14. *Processionarium Parisiense*. Toulouze (before 1497). Bohatta 780; Bulletin d. l. libr. D. Morgand, Paris, 1909.

³ Claudin: *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France*, vol. II, 1901.

15. Propertius. *Propertii elegiarum opus*. Toulouze & Roce, 1499. Claudin II.
16. Seneca Lucius Anneus. *De formula honestae vitae vel de quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus*. Roce (& Toulouze) s.a. Claudin II.
17. Septmeules, Henri de (Arrigo il povero, Arrigo de Settimello, fl. 12th cent.). *De malis fortunatis*. Roce (& Toulouze) s.a. Claudin II; a first edition was publ. at Lyons, ca. 1495.

All these editions have become very rare, and most of them are extant in single copies only. They cater for the interests of students; some of them look like textbooks for lectures at the Sorbonne; note also the several early translations into French. The authors are humanists, such as Andrelinus and Beroaldus, or classics, like Seneca, Persius and Propertius.

Among the issues of Toulouze are four items with printed music: the *Processionarium*, the dance book, and the two works by Guerson, one a theory of music, the other a collection of liturgical tunes for the mass.

Of these books the *Processionarium* and the dance book can be dated as having been printed before 1497; all belong to the period before 1500.

We do not know how Toulouze came to print his different books with music. From the colophons—sometimes our best source—we do not discover that Toulouze was aware of having been the first printer of measured music. In the field of liturgical music-printing Paris could provide seven examples earlier than 1496; however, Toulouze was the first to print a *Processionarium*.

The connexion of Toulouze with his neighbour Guillaume Guerson may have had some influence. Guerson lived in the house next to Toulouze and seems to have had there a combined book, music and printing shop, where he also taught music.⁴ He signs as student, and later as master of arts. Between 1495 and 1503, when he died, he published so far as we know eight books, three of them with music. With the exception of his theory of music and his selections of Aristotle, his work was devoted to religious purposes. The earliest date given in his books is 1495, in an *Ordinaire*. From 1495 on he signs his books, together with the important publisher and printer, Jehannot. We have two works from this partnership, the *Confessionale* by Thomas of Aquino, and the *Ordinaire en françoys*, a ritual translated by Jehan de Vespria, prior at Clairvaux, for the nuns of the Cistercian order.

Three other books of Guerson are written for nuns, his devout contemplation, his missae, and his Christmas carols, all three for the sisterhood of the penitents de S. Magliore which had been founded at Paris in 1492 by Jean Tisseran. Scholderer concludes very convincingly that all three were printed by Toulouze as the types and the wood-cut ornaments are identical with the ones used in books signed by him.

The Noelz and the devout contemplation—though intended to be sung—give the text of the poems only. The *Ordinaire* and the missae carry liturgical melodies, so that Guerson here is merely editing.

⁴ Campbell, F. A., in *Bibliophile Belge*, 12 (Ser. 2, 3), 1856; and Ph. Renouard: "Guillaume Guerson musicien", in *Revue des livres anciens*, I, 1913-14.

The really popular work of Guerson was his text book, *Utilissime Regules*, which we know to have been published eight times up to 1555. The earliest edition is signed by Toulouze.⁵ The *Regules* have been considered important for the knowledge of music printing; but apparently the technique used in the Toulouze edition has not always been understood. Fétis (article "Marneff") speaks of the music examples as woodcuts, movable types having been used only in the second edition by Regnault, in 1509.

Now, the types in Toulouze's edition of the *Regules* are identical with those of the measured melodies in our dance book; so that Toulouze must have used the same movable types in both books. The types of the missae (Toulouze for Guerson) are identical with the parts of our dance book in Gregorian notation; but they are also identical—notes and clefs—with the types used in the *Ordinaire*, printed by Guerson in association with Jehannot. Perhaps Toulouze, without being named, also printed this book for Guerson as editor and Jehannot as publisher.

Our dance book is not dated; the year 1488 has been—as Scholderer proves—added later in manuscript. However, Scholderer thinks that the date 1488 might be possible. If the year 1482 of the little law book by Toulouze is not a mistake, as Claudin thought, it might be right to put the printing of the dance book in the year 1488. Anyway, it must have been printed before December, 1496.

If the year 1488 is correct, Toulouze would have to be credited with the earliest music printing in France; the first other item known so far being the *Missale Andegavensis* by Dupré in 1489.

Toulouze uses in his dance book both black and white notes, both kinds in different values and forms. Among the white notes occur the *lunga* H the *brevis* \diamond and the *semibrevis* \diamond ; of black notes we have the *lunga* J and the *brevis* \blacksquare . The occasional use of white and black notes to indicate the same value is typical of the transition period in the development of musical notation in the second half of the fifteenth century.

There are no tempo signs at the beginning of the melodies; but, at least once we find a three (3) to indicate the change from *tempus imperfectum* to *tempus perfectum*; this occurs in the part with measured music. The change is not indicated in the corresponding melody in the Brussels manuscript.

Space does not allow me to discuss the music of the dance tunes; if we were to compare the two collections (Brussels and Toulouze) the order in the Brussels manuscript could be rectified;⁶ mistakes and misprints could be corrected on both sides, and we would very likely gain further insight into the rhythmical structure of the dances, and also come nearer settling what a basse dance

⁵ Scholderer supposes that T. might have printed an earlier edition as the title says "noviter" published; but perhaps this means "recently", referring to the printing of the theory known and taught by him before.

⁶ Only after finishing this manuscript there came to my knowledge—through the Paul Hirsch Library, Cambridge—the excellent article on our dance book by Margaret Dean-Smith, 1937. The author points out the similarity of the two collections of dance tunes. I also owe to Miss Dean-Smith the information on the Aristotle edition by Guerson.

actually is. The author defines it as a country dance in $3/4$ rhythm, a "Ländler".

From Scholderer's introduction we learn that the beginning of a translation of the preface into English is sketched in our copy on the fly leaf. The treatise of Robert Coplande "on the maner of dauncynge of bace daunces", which is in part a literal, in part a free translation of the Toulouze and Brussels introductions, does not begin as the text given by Scholderer. Perhaps a comparison of the handwriting on the fly leaf with Coplande's hand, of the ink, the paper, etc., would prove that the Toulouze copy once belonged to Coplande.

The end of his treatise contains a moral remark on the usefulness of dancing which could correspond to the opening words on our copy: "The daunces have I set at the ende of this booke after theyr diligent study may rejoyce somewhat theyr spyrytes honestly in eschewynge of ydleness, the portresse of vyces".

Some Old Dumb-Show Music in Hamlet

BY

ALFRED LOEWENBERG

THE subject of Shakespearean music proper: that is, Shakespeare's use of music, and the music on the stage of his time, was treated by Professor Dent some years ago in an admirably concise and lucid paper.¹ In a wider sense, "Shakespearean music" may be taken to comprise a fair proportion of the whole musical output of the last 250 years. A catalogue of all the settings of his songs, of all the instrumental works inspired by his characters, of all the operas and ballets based on Shakespearean subjects, and so forth, will, if ever compiled, run well into four figures. To this number there must be added yet another category, less numerous, and more ephemeral in character: incidental music written for actual revivals of the plays throughout the years.

In Professor Dent's essay there occurs the passage: "A characteristic feature of the plays produced after 1560 was the dumb-show which was always accompanied by instrumental music". This no doubt also applies to the most famous dumb-show ever acted on the stage, the one in *Hamlet* (III, 2). But we must leave Elizabethan times far behind and cross the North Sea in order to find the earliest extant example² of music written for the pantomime scene (left out in many modern productions) which precedes the "mouse-trap" play within the play.

The first performance of *Hamlet* at Hamburg, on 20th September, 1776, is generally regarded as the starting point of Shakespeare's fame on the Continent, although it was not the earliest German version or production of the tragedy. But this prose adaptation, made by the "German Garrick", Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, actor, dramatist, and for many years director of the Hamburg theatre, and its production with the youthful Brockmann in the title-part captured and influenced public opinion as no other play had done before. There is no need to dwell here upon the triumphant reception and career of *Hamlet* on the German stage. Anybody who is interested in it has the choice of about a dozen books and a hundred papers devoted to that subject; but in vain will he try to find in all those pages more than a non-committal word or so about the "Zu dem Ballet verfertigte Musik", the ballet music written to accompany the dumb-show at the Hamburg theatre, above the mere fact that there was such music, and that it was even published at some unspecified date. A copy of Schröder's adaptation which contains the music—they rarely do—has recently turned up and gives me a welcome opportunity to draw attention to this early instance of Shakespearean incidental music. By courtesy of the owners, Messrs. A. Rosenthal, Ltd., of Oxford, title-page and music are reproduced here. The reader who will go to the trouble of comparing the wording of the scene with the music will find that the anonymous composer aimed at a programmatic illustration of the action and created,

¹ *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies*. Cambridge, 1934.

² Haydn's *Hamlet* music which was reported to have been discovered just before the war at the Benedictine Abbey of Göttweig may be a year or so earlier; I have no knowledge whether the score contains music for the dumb-show.

certainly not a masterwork, but a pleasant and interesting piece of music within the formal limits of his period. Let the unusual course of reproducing

Hamlet,
Prinz von Dänemark,
Ein Trauerspiel
in sechs Aufzügen.

Zum Behuf
 des Hamburgschen Theaters.

L. F. Stapel
 von
 Brockmanns Bildniß, als Hamlet,
 und der zu dem Ballet verfertigten Musik.



Neue Auflage.



Hamburg,
 in der Heroldschen Buchhandlung, 1786.



a comparatively unimportant sheet of printed music be justified by its being practically unknown and not generally available and by the exceptional literary and theatrical interest attached to it.

Contemporary reviews and accounts do not make any special mention of the music, let alone of the composer; but at least we know that the dumb-show ballet was a feature of Schröder's production right from the beginning and not an addition of a later period (as the date on the reproduced title-page might

PANTOMIME ZU HAMLET

Andante grazioso

The musical score is written for piano and consists of six systems of music. The first five systems are marked *Andante grazioso* and the sixth is marked *Adagio*. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The dynamics range from *p* (piano) to *pp* (pianissimo). The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and accidentals.

System 1: *Andante grazioso*. Dynamics: *p*, *mf*, *p*.
 System 2: *Andante grazioso*. Dynamics: *mf*, *f p*, *f p*.
 System 3: *Andante grazioso*. Dynamics: *f p*, *f p*, *p*.
 System 4: *Andante grazioso*. Dynamics: *mf*, *p*, *mf*.
 System 5: *Andante grazioso*. Dynamics: *pp*, *(b?) (b?)*, *(b?) (b?)*, *(b?)*, *pp*, *(b?)*.
 System 6: *Adagio*. Dynamics: *f*.

Andante

Furioso



This page contains seven systems of musical notation for piano, arranged in two columns. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various musical symbols, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

The first system is marked *Andante* and *sempre piano*. It begins with a treble staff containing a single note and a bass staff with a whole note chord. The tempo and dynamics are indicated above the treble staff.

The second system continues the *Andante* tempo and *sempre piano* dynamics. It features a treble staff with a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a series of eighth notes.

The third system is marked *Allegro* and *f*. It begins with a treble staff containing a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a series of eighth notes. The tempo and dynamics are indicated above the treble staff.

The fourth system continues the *Allegro* tempo and *f* dynamics. It features a treble staff with a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a series of eighth notes.

The fifth system continues the *Allegro* tempo and *f* dynamics. It features a treble staff with a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a series of eighth notes.

The sixth system continues the *Allegro* tempo and *f* dynamics. It features a treble staff with a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a series of eighth notes.

The seventh system continues the *Allegro* tempo and *f* dynamics. It features a treble staff with a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a series of eighth notes.

Andante

Gavotte

suggest). The Viennese actor, Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller was present at the second night, on 23rd September, 1776, and in his report³—he had been sent by the Emperor Leopold II on a mission to survey theatrical conditions in the "Reich"—he expressly refers to the execution of the dumb-show and to the adequate orchestra, arranged in two semi-circles around the sides of the stage.⁴ There is also an English account of a slightly later date, in a series of essays called "The Actor", probably by Thomas Holcroft, which appeared in the *Westminster Magazine*, January-May, 1780. In the March issue we read a dispatch from Hamburg:

"In that scene where the mock Play is performed before the King and Queen, they erect, at the Hamburg Theatre, a false Stage, and when it is over, and the King calls for lights, drop the curtain as at the end of any other Play. They likewise precede this Scene with a grand Pantomime dance, in which they first relate the story of Gonzago in dumb-show."

Schröder's version (in which by the way Hamlet does not die at the end) was first published in 1777 (in 6 acts) and 1778 (in 5 acts, in vol. iii of *Hamburgisches Theater*). Numerous new editions, all styled "Neue Auflage", mostly of the 6-act version, appeared during the following years. It is uncertain which of them was the first to contain the music. By one writer⁵ this distinction is claimed for a reprint of 1782; but a copy of this happens to be in the British Museum and it has no music. True, the folding-plate may have been removed at some early date; the title-page however does not mention the music either, and has a full stop behind the words "als Hamlet". Also there is evidence that a later edition of 1785 was without music, and so it seems that our reprint of 1786, so far unrecorded, is indeed the first to contain it. The music was again added in 1789 (copy at Mannheim; music missing but mentioned on title-page) and finally in 1795 (publ. at Berlin; called for some reason "Dritte Auflage"—thirteenth would be nearer the mark—and the only "musical" one mentioned by Goedeke and in other bibliographies).

Whenever the music was first added to the printed edition of the play, there is no reason to suppose that it was not the same as used at the first performance in 1776. If new music had replaced the original in the course of those ten years, this fact would have been remarkable enough to have emerged somehow in the flood of enthusiastic and critical *Hamlet* literature of the time. Nor would the new composer have allowed the publisher to conceal his name under these circumstances. By 1786 *Hamlet* was firmly settled in the repertory of all the more important German stages. Some of them (as Breslau and Mannheim) had ordered their own music, while others had dropped the pantomime scene, or retained it without music. So there was, in those days without copyright, no longer any reason to guard the music and keep it in manuscript. It had been heard on the stage so often and been whistled by the people leaving the theatre that manager and publisher decided to meet a popular demand and have a pianoforte arrangement made. The composer (if he was the

³ J. H. F. Müller, *Abschied von der Schaubühne*, 1802, p. 110-111.

⁴ The scene is reproduced in a well-known engraving by Chodowiecki, called "The Mouse-trap" in which the orchestra is shown in front, not at the sides, of the second stage. While the actors are those of the Berlin production of 1777, the scenic arrangement was an invention of the artist as, according to the reviews, no music was used in Berlin.

⁵ C. W. E. Brauns, *Die Schrödersche Bearbeitung des Hamlet*, 1890.

composer) would not care either way. He was far away, right "off the musical map", and nobody knew at that time what had become of him, if we can judge from Gerber in whose study at Sondershausen all the musical intelligence of the period converged.

There is no doubt that the composer of the *Hamlet* ballet of 1776 chose to be anonymous. His name is not mentioned on the play-bills nor referred to by any contemporary, and anonymous he has stayed ever since. In trying to trace him after so many years, the primary condition must be to look for a local man. Incidental music for the theatre was, in the eighteenth century at any rate, commissioned and composed *ad hoc*. In the case of the Hamburg *Hamlet*, it must have been written in a great hurry, too. We know from Schröder himself⁶ that he started work on his adaptation on the 24th August; the first performance took place exactly four weeks later.

The most likely person to be asked to provide the necessary music was of course the musical director of the theatre. His name was Georg Friedrich Lampe (possibly a relative of the German-born John Frederick Lampe of *Dragon of Wantley* repute, the brother-in-law of Dr. Arne) who had succeeded one Roellig in 1773 and was himself succeeded by one Reinhart in 1777. While the humble list of Lampe's contributions to the Hamburg stage has been duly recorded and handed down to posterity, there is no *Hamlet* amongst them, and we cannot ascribe the music to him on the strength of his office alone. A somewhat better-known composer of the time, Carl David Stegmann wrote the music for Schröder's adaptations and productions of *King Lear* (1778) and *Macbeth* (1779), and it is tempting to think of him as of the composer of *Hamlet* as well. But there is no getting away from the fact that Stegmann came to Hamburg, as a singer, only 18 months after the production of *Hamlet*.

There was, however, a composer who fulfils both requirements. He lived and worked at Hamburg in 1776 and is credited with having written some *Hamlet* music. He was at that time an organist and church choir director and in no way connected with the theatre, which could account for the fact that he did not wish his name to be mentioned on the play-bill. Furthermore, he left Hamburg shortly afterwards, and as we know to-day, ultimately found employment in far-off Poland, which would explain why nobody bothered to mention, or even remembered his name when the ballet music was published several years later.

The name of this musician was Johann David Holland. Born about 1746 at Herzberg, near Osterode in the Harz mountains, he was employed at St. Catherine's church, and later at the Cathedral at Hamburg in the mid-seventeen-seventies. Nothing is known about his musical upbringing. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, at that time municipal musical director of all the Hamburg churches, conducted Holland's oratorio *The Shepherds at Bethlehem* in Nov., 1774, and a further oratorio or cantata, *The Resurrection of Christ* was heard at the Cathedral in March of the following year. That Holland was not altogether averse to secular music is proved by some printed compositions, such as "A Game without cards or entertainment at the piano with

⁶ Preface to vol. iii of *Hamburgisches Theater*, 1778.

2 violins" (Hamburg, 1776), and "Words with notes and notes without words for sentimental pianists" (Hamburg, 1777). He also composed, like Leopold Mozart, a "Musical Sleigh-drive" for orchestra which seems to have enjoyed a certain popularity. Shortly after 1777 Holland left Hamburg for good. We next meet him at Schwerin in 1781 where a serenata of his was performed on the birthday of the Duke of Mecklenburg; but possibly at that time the composer was already settled in Poland as he is called "Holland from Bromberg" (the Polish Bydgoszcz) on the manuscript score of the Schwerin serenata and the date of 1780 is assigned to his first Polish opera.

The subsequent career of Jan Dawid Holland (as he now was) can be pieced together from Polish sources. On 20th September, 1782, his "Musical Sleigh-drive" was heard at Warsaw "by the demand of several amateurs". Later, he became director of music at the private theatre of a Polish nobleman, Prince Maciej Radziwill, and it was at his estate at Nieśwież that Holland's *Agatka* was first performed in 1784, one of the earliest extant Polish operas.

After the turn of the century, Holland (who had already been called "Dr. Holland" in a letter by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach in 1771) emerges in 1802 as professor of music at the university of Wilna, and about 10 years later he seems to have occupied a similar position at Cracow. He published an "Academic treatise on the true art of music, with a supplement on the use of harmony" (in Polish) at Breslau in 1806. It is not known when and where he died.

The fact that Holland wrote music for *Hamlet* is first mentioned by Gerber in his *Neues Lexikon* (1812) in a note which supplements the short account of the composer given in his older dictionary of 1790. "Bey Hummel ist noch von ihm um 1790 gestochen worden: Entr'acte de Hamlet pour l'Orchestre". (Fétis turns this guarded statement into a misleading definite one: "Composé 1790".) Gerber's note is based probably on the identical laconic entry in the publisher Hummel's (Berlin) list of 1794 rather than on an actual copy of the *entr'acte*. Eitner could not trace one in any library and none has, to my knowledge, come to light since. If it ever does, I should not be in the least surprised to find the original orchestral version of the pianoforte arrangement of 1786; and until it does, it cannot be definitely proved that Holland was responsible for the anonymous dumb-show music of 1776. But it seems to me that the coincidence of dates and places is too strong to be disregarded. That the ballet music should have become an "entr'acte" in the hands of a competent publisher is not surprising as it would sell more easily under a more general description.

The last and at the same time the first definite news of Holland's *Hamlet* music comes from Wilna where Shakespeare's tragedy was performed for the first time in 1808, in a Polish version translated from Schröder's adaptation and "with musical illustration by Jan Holland, the author of *Agatka*".⁷ No doubt the old professor was present, either in the orchestra or in the stalls, and remembered the Hamburg performance of earlier days.

⁷ Antoni Miller, *Teatr Polski i Muzyka na Litwie*. Wilno 1936, p. 143.

The Production of Opera in England

BY

GERALD M. COOPER

LET us face the facts. In this country until a few years ago the visual aspect of opera, the stage-production, was always something of a joke. In the hey-day of Covent Garden Grand Season (so called) followed Grand Season with a hackneyed repertoire sung in German, French, or Italian, sometimes even in a mixture of tongues, but never, never in English, except that spectacular escapade, the *Ring* in English under Richter. The menial task of singing opera in our own language was left to the Carl Rosa and Moody-Manners companies, which toured the provinces with an occasional visit to London in the off-season. At Covent Garden there was plenty of fine singing with here and there a singer who could also act, and, even more rarely, look the part. But when I paid my first visit in 1904 the goings-on on the stage were quite rudimentary. Caruso, Melba, Sammarco, Selma Kurz, and Scotti were all there, and what else mattered?

The Garden was indeed a veritable dump of conservatism. But how could it be otherwise with only two short and fantastically expensive seasons in the year? The stage equipment was hopelessly out of date, and any but the most conventional form of production was out of the question when stars arrived at the last moment from the ends of the earth, all with their own costumes, and rehearsals were the privilege of the lesser fry with the chorus and orchestra. I remember once Kirkby Lunn telling me that she had just been to a rehearsal of *Aida* (she was not one to scamp her job) and that neither the soprano nor the tenor had turned up, and I would not be too sure about the baritone. Now and then a new work was produced, and once in a while certain mechanical and structural changes were made. Sometimes even some new scenery made its appearance, but it was never much of an improvement on the old rolling-stock. In the last season before the war I went to a performance of *Traviata*, and my companion and myself found ourselves identifying odd bits of scenery from pretty well every opera in the repertoire, not excluding *Turandot*.

When Sir Thomas Beecham came onto the scene he did a lot to improve matters. From 1910 to 1920 at Covent Garden, Drury Lane, His Majesty's, and the Aldwych Theatre, he did one new production after another, often with remarkable success. His *Marriage of Figaro* at Drury Lane was a veritable land-mark in operatic history. But that daring and romantic adventure came unhappily to an end, and dear old Covent Garden went back to its antiquated, stuffy ways.

Another attempt to break through was made by Oscar Hammerstein in 1911. He built the London Opera House (now the Stoll Theatre) and produced really Pullman-class opera with a mixture of established stars like Maurice

Renaud and discoveries such as Marguerite d'Alvarez and Félice Lyne (an enchanting Gilda). There was much ado about the training of the chorus who were made to act individually instead of standing in a row and staring at the conductor, but the productions were as far as I remember rather on Paris Opéra lines, very spectacular, but not really breaking any new ground. I well remember my dismay when the rather odd-looking legionaries of the ballet in *Hérodiade* turned out to be young women. But Pullman-class opera was evidently no good investment, for the venture failed, and Hammerstein returned to New York.

After the disappearance of the Beecham opera nothing much occurred until in 1933 Mr. John Christie built a completely new opera theatre, attached to his home at Glyndebourne in Sussex, and things began to happen. The stage, enlarged later, was sufficient for its needs, and all the mechanical equipment was new and up-to-date. A repertoire (only Mozart at first) was chosen, a company was collected from various sources at home and abroad, and each opera was carefully and thoroughly rehearsed in its original language (which, alas! was often obviously not the native language of the singer) until a real unity of purpose was achieved. In subsequent seasons both theatre and repertoire were enlarged, but the same scrupulous methods prevailed until the war put an end to it all for the time being. Many criticisms may be and indeed have been levelled at Glyndebourne, but it was nevertheless the first time within living memory that a season of opera in England had been treated with the same amount of care and respect that would normally be given to any production of spoken drama.

So much for the high-lights. But all the while opera had been going on modestly but doggedly in another part of London, far less fashionable than any vegetable market. In 1880 Miss Emma Cons had taken over "that focus of every form of vice" the Royal Victoria Theatre, and turned it into a home of variety "at which a purified entertainment shall be given, and no intoxicant drinks be sold". In 1889 opera made its first appearance there, but in a very odd form. The eccentricities of the licensing laws forbade any kind of stage performance, so concert excerpts were given, followed by tableaux illustrative of the action. In 1896 it became possible to give complete operas, but for a similar reason the dramatic action had to be interrupted. This was done by the drawing of a curtain during concerted numbers.

It was not until 1914 that the Old Vic. settled down to a solid policy of Shakespeare and popular opera. At first only old favourites were given, like *Faust* and *Il Trovatore*, but in 1919, when the war was over, the engagement of Clive Carey as producer resulted in a series of Mozart operas: *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* and *The Magic Flute*. Both repertoire and stage-production were very much improved, even to the point of giving operas by English composers, such as Ethel Smyth and Nicholas Gatty.

Then in 1931 Sadler's Wells was re-opened, and has now become the permanent home of popular opera in London. In the last war the theatre was damaged, but the opera company still managed to carry on under great difficulties, and in a somewhat reduced form. They managed nevertheless

to stage some very interesting productions. Now they are back at the Wells where *Peter Grimes* has been their most important achievement up to date.

That, then, is our English opera of to-day: the Sadler's Wells company in London and the Carl Rosa still touring the country. Of Covent Garden, recently re-opened with a season of ballet, it is too early to speak.

And there we are. The child is progressing, but suffering horribly in the process from growing-pains. Some day no doubt the solution will be found, but the problems are many. No matter what may be said on either side, opera is a hybrid art. It is neither music projected onto the stage nor drama set to music, but a mixture of both, and of the two the music usually comes off the winner. Only a very fine artist can get away with an insufficient voice, but how often does a fine voice go together with talent and good looks? An opera has *got* to sound right, but it is only of recent years that we have decided that it must also look right. In the old Covent Garden days nobody cared a hang what their favourite singer looked like. Caruso's appearance was anything but romantic, though he became a fine actor in his later days. Melba, whose dramatic powers were limited, looked nothing like Mimi and even less like Juliet. And what about the two-ton Siegfrieds and Brünnhildes from Germany? There were a few great ones who could make you forget their appearance just as Mrs. Patrick Campbell did. Destinn was a bundle, but I doubt if there has ever been a more moving Butterfly. Tetratzini, bless her good heart! was as broad as she was long, but has there ever been a more delicious Rosina? One became so accustomed to these appalling incongruities that if by any chance a young singer came along with the right shape as well as the right voice, one felt that there was something rather indecent going on—something a little too near the knuckle.

However, six years of war has knocked all that on the head. Opera has found a new young audience, brought up not on Covent Garden, but on cinema, comedy, and leg-show. They quite naturally are dismayed by a matronly Butterfly or a Cavaradossi who looks like Friar Tuck, and "the children's teeth are set on edge". But unfortunately nature will not be dictated to, though much can be done by artificial means. She will no doubt continue until the end of time putting the right voice in the wrong body, and driving us all to distraction by her wretched vagaries.

The truth is that every performance of an opera needs a very considerable act of faith on the part of the audience, far more than in the spoken drama. Opera has too many ingredients ever to get within a satisfactory distance of perfection. If only those singers were allowed to appear who were right in every way—voice, appearance, acting ability, and general intelligence—there would scarcely be enough material in the world to form even one opera company.

One must choose, then, and cut one's losses, and surely voice is what matters more than anything else, the one factor that simply cannot be done without, and that Nature alone can supply? You can reduce the figure by banting. You can alter an ugly face by clever make-up. You can even teach a singer to act (or can you?). But no man can produce a singing-voice out of nothing.

So if we are to go on enjoying our opera we must now and then turn a blind eye to the portly tenor and the soprano with a middle-age spread, and give ourselves up to the pleasure that we get from their voices.

But that is no excuse for slipshod production. Indeed imaginative production and careful dress designing can do a lot to make up for individual defects. There are, however, one or two pitfalls here. Every producer who is worth his salt wants to seek adventure and get away from musty tradition. I like Felix Mottl's remark "Tradition ist Schlamperei", Schlamperei being the Viennese expression for the principle of "Never do to-day what you can do tomorrow". But it is only too easy to do everything upside down simply for the sake of doing it upside down, and so produce a perverse, stunted effect that has become *fade* almost before the fall of the curtain on the first night. They did that sort of thing in Germany years and years ago, especially in the theatre. I remember a performance of *Macbeth* in Berlin in the twenties in which the witches were cut out altogether, the second witches scene was spoken by Macbeth lying on a bed and Lady M. standing over him as if in a trance, and Lady Macbeth played her sleep-walking scene tottering precariously, as I thought, along a wide coping about halfway up to the top of the very high proscenium arch. Precariously, I thought, until I perceived a slot in the wall behind her and realized that she was being held firmly by a rope tied round her waist and gripped presumably by a stage-hand behind the flat.

Earlier than that, in 1912, there was a production of *Tristan* in Hanover in which the ship's deck in the first act was controlled by a kind of gigantic bellows, so that it could give the effect of pitching or rolling as desired. A tough lot those German singers! Then there was the notorious production of *Tannhäuser* in early Nazi days in Berlin, in which whenever Tannhäuser wanted a harp, a giant instrument sprang magically from the ground for his convenience. To come nearer home, not long ago there was a production of *Così fan tutte* at Sadler's Wells in which the whole effect of that exquisite little quintet, in which the two pairs of lovers take leave of one another while the old philosopher chuckles to himself in the corner, was completely ruined, for me at any rate, by the presence on the stage of what appeared to be the entire domestic staff of the ladies' villa, all saying goodbye to one another. There were young women, too, evidently imported from the *corps de ballet*, who pirouetted and postured about the stage at odd moments during the action. The result—I can only speak from my own point of view, of course—was fussy, distracting, and generally insincere; everything indeed that an opera production should not be, particularly when the singers are as good as those were.

Another great danger lies in the theory that the absence of good singers can be compensated by excellence of team-work (detestable word!). Now there are one or two operas like the *Bartered Bride* which can be got away with on these grounds, but they are very few, and certainly not enough to make up a repertoire. I have no wish to belittle the virtue of good ensemble. It is, or should be, an essential part of all production, but no team-work in the world

will make acceptable a batch of singers who cannot sing. Granted that nobody tries to apply this theory to the bigger operas, *opere serie*, even in the lighter works it will not really wash. What in the world is the use of an exquisitely staged *Figaro* if the Countess and Susanna cannot sing their arias properly? For surely the arias are the high spots, the moments of repose in which the characters utter their secret thoughts, and they simply demand beautiful singing or the whole structure falls to the ground.

No. I persist in saying that the singing of the leading roles is the king-pin on which everything else depends, but that it is no excuse for short-comings in other directions. There are some odd people who maintain that they like to sit where they cannot see the stage; they simply want to listen to what they probably call the orchestration. Although I grant that with some conductors that is about all one can hear, that is surely the last wreath to be placed on the grave where lies the opera of yester-year. We must have new, real productions, with all that that implies. When we possess an opera so well-equipped and of such prestige that our best singers consider it an honour to be asked not merely to sing there but to become members of the company, then we shall have achieved what has never been done before in the world's greatest city.

Dent as Translator

BY

J. A. WESTRUP

I see from the printed text that Dent's translation of *Figaro* was first performed at the Old Vic. on 15th January, 1920. That must have been about the time I first heard the opera. Ever since the music has for me been associated with the English version. The same thing has happened with *The Magic Flute*. I did not worry my head in those days about the original libretti. I accepted Dent's versions as something that Mozart might have set to music in the first place, if he had had the opportunity. The result is that when I think of Cherubino I think of the words "And my heart seems to burst into flame", not "Ogni donna mi fa palpitar", and Papageno's

"Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen
Wünscht Papageno sich!"

has always been

" 'Tis love, they say, love only,
That makes the world go round".

This may be very reprehensible; but old associations stick, and there must be many hundreds of people who have had the same experience. When all cant and pomposity have been put on one side we know that the only way really to enjoy an opera is to know what the people on the stage are singing; and we also know that very few of us can readily understand a foreign language when it is sung on the stage. Opera in English needs no defence in theory; but in practice it has often been viewed with grave suspicion. The reason for this is simple. We have practically no national tradition of opera. Apart from comic opera our staple fare has been imported from abroad. There is therefore no tradition of English libretti. What we have had is a series of translations, which in a desperate attempt to reproduce as closely as possible the original text have been cluttered up with absurdities which no sensible person would have tolerated outside the opera house. It became almost an accepted principle that if English had to be sung on the stage it must be ridiculous. In consequence many people came to think of opera itself as ridiculous, and librettists who had to provide texts for English composers automatically wrote in the same unnatural language.

No one can enjoy an opera in English if he is compelled to listen to unnatural words. The language of foreign libretti is often artificial but it is not for that reason laughable. And even if the original is absurd there is no reason why the translation should be. In such cases the translator has a golden opportunity to do the composer a service. Some of the things that strike us as absurd in the older translations are due to the acceptance of conventions which are now outworn. The translations have acquired a period flavour—but it is generally the wrong period. If we are to hear Mozart in English, we do not want to hear him in Victorian English. If we want to feel that the

text belongs to the same century as the music we shall naturally demand a pastiche in eighteenth-century style; but that would tax unmercifully the powers of any translator, and the result would not be worth the labour. The simplest solution is to provide a translation which is readily intelligible today—and intelligible not only when we read it but when we hear it on the stage. The cumbrous inversions with which translators have striven to match the feminine endings of Italian verse are too often wasted effort, because we cannot understand them when they are sung.

There is no need to elaborate the theory of opera translation in greater detail, since Dent has done it himself in a paper read to the Musical Association some years ago.¹ What I can do is to indicate some of the ways in which he has put his theory into practice. It is curious that when he wants to illustrate a verse in which double and single rhymes alternate he quotes the hymn:

"Brief life is here our portion,
Brief sorrow, short-lived care;
The life that knows no ending,
The tearless life, is there."

The casual reader might think that hymns had nothing to teach a translator of operas. But there is in the best of English hymnody a simplicity and symmetry that are exactly the qualities required in a good translation. I do not know what part English hymns have played in Dent's upbringing. But it is obvious that he has learnt a good deal from them. Such a simple example as

"Come, let us all our voices raise,
Loud in Leonora's praise"

from the end of *Fidelio* is plainly the work of someone who knows the standard English hymn-books—or perhaps we may be more precise and say *Hymns, Ancient and Modern*. The next four lines confirm this impression:

"Happy he whom Heav'n has granted
To be lov'd by such a wife!
Praise we now the noble lady,
Saviour of her husband's life".

Here are words which with a very slight modification could be turned into a hymn suitable for a saint's day. It will be said that this is not poetry, but Dent would be the first to admit that. In the general preface to his translations he has written:

"If the reader discovers in these pages any line that he can call poetry, he may be sure that it has been stolen from some more respectable—and, I hope, non-copyright—author".

It is not the business of an opera translation to be poetry; what it must do is to make sense and fit the music. Music can make the simplest words sound sublime, provided they are not ridiculous. It may also be said that the final chorus of *Fidelio* is not a good example of the hymn-book influence, since the

¹ *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 1934-5, pp. 81-104.

original text itself has a hymn-like character. Turn then to *Rigoletto* and see how Dent translates "Caro nome". The original runs:

"Caro nome, che il mio cor
Festi primo palpitar,
Le delizie dell'amor
Mi dèi sempre rammentar!

Col pensier il mio desir
A te sempre volerà,
E fin l'ultimo sospir,
Caro nome, tuo sarà".

And the translation:

"Ah, how dear to me that name,
Name of him whom I adore!
He my heart did first inflame,
And is mine for evermore.

He awoke my first desire,
He my every thought may claim,
And when I in death expire,
Fondly I shall breathe his name".

Purists will object that this is not a translation because it is not literal. It is true that it misses the repetition of the words "Caro nome", which is so affecting in the original, but apart from that it admirably expresses the meaning of the Italian. On this matter Dent has said:

"Literal translation is often quite impossible; when an air (as often happens in old operas) is merely the expression of one emotion, or of two well-defined separate emotions, *e.g.* love, jealousy, rage, despair, grief, I see no reason why one should not write entirely new words, provided that they express the general emotion painted in the music".

This is a wholly reasonable attitude. In comic opera Dent has interpreted this principle with considerable freedom. In Auber's *Fra Diavolo* Scribe makes Lady Allcash sing:

"Je n'avais plus l'envie
De revoir l'Italie.
Mes chapeaux, mes dentelles,
Mes robes les plus belles,
Répondez, où sont elles?
Est-il malheur plus grand?"

Lady Macfarren has:

"Are these the joys of Italy?
No more its shores I wish to see.
What shall I do for dresses?
You're deaf to my distresses.
What I suffer, no one guesses,
My things, where are they now?"

This is tolerably literal, though it is not obstinately tied to the French and it also ignores the rhythm of the first two lines. Its one serious weakness is in the last line. The word "things" would make no effect in the theatre.

Dent, however, does not even attempt to deal with the lady's wardrobe. He accepts Lady Macfarren's rhythm for the first two lines, but after that goes his own way:

"I hate this land of Italy!
'Tis not the place for you and me.
I suffer tortures every night
From nasty things that jump and bite;
And as for sanitation,
There's none at all, I know".

The defence of such freedom is presumably that this is the sort of thing that a member of the aristocracy might be expected to sing to-day, and that if the result excites laughter the librettist's original aim has been achieved. The same defence will have to be summoned for the succeeding lines:

"Oui, my lord, cette aventure
Me mettait dans le courroux,
Je voulais, je vous le jure,
Plus voyager avec vous",

which Dent replaces by:

"Sheets are damp and floors are stony;
No one's ever heard of tea!
Can you live on macaroni?
Well, it's not the food for me."

Here Lady Allcash's dissatisfaction with her husband and the country is glorified into a distaste for particular details which are nowhere specified in the original. Sometimes a similar freedom enables the translator to make a verbal point which the librettist had never thought of. In the second act of *Figaro* the Countess, trying to explain why Cherubino will be discovered, as she imagines, in his shirt-sleeves, sings:

"Per vestir femminee spoglie..."

which the Count interrupts indignantly with:

"Ah, comprendo, indegna moglie,
Mi vo' tosto vendicar!"

For this Dent has:

Countess: "'Twas to dress him as a lady..."

Count: Dressing up, indeed, my lady!
I'll give him a dressing down",

where the slight departure from the original text is completely justified by the effectiveness of the translation.

Such verbal points are better suited to comic than to serious opera, where their neatness may lead not merely to admiration but to amusement. Laughter in the wrong place may be a nuisance in comic opera, but in serious opera it can be disastrous. It may arise in the most unexpected places. A simple phrase may be so near the habits of everyday speech as to suggest a parody. Dent rarely makes a mistake of this kind, though I have heard laughter in a most unsuitable place at a Sadler's Wells performance of *Eugene Onegin*. But he sometimes strains the resources of common speech beyond what they

can easily bear in an artificial setting. His version of "Di Provenza il mar" in *La Traviata* is admirable:

"By what fatal error led
Did your foolish footsteps roam?
Why has every memory fled
Of your old ancestral home?"

But earlier in the same act he is much less happy with the elder Germont's advice to Violetta:

"Un dì, quando le veneri
Il tempo avrà fagate,
Fia presto il tedio a sorgere,
Che sarà allor? Pensate",

which appears as:

"The day will come, you know it will,
When youth and beauty moulder;
And pleasure turns to dreariness
As you and he grow older."

The music, it is true, is marked *con semplicità*, but even so "you know it will" jars, and so does "moulder", which has an uncomfortable air of having been selected as the only available rhyme for "older".

The fault here is not that "you know it will" is composed of monosyllables, but that their suggestion of familiar assurance is out of place. Dent's use of monosyllables is in general masterly and contributes as much as anything else to making his versions seem natural and easily intelligible. The first verse of the canon quartet in *Fidelio* consists almost entirely of monosyllables:

"My heart had told me so,
Before one word he said.
He loves me, now I know;
The path of joy I now may tread."

There is, perhaps, a slight artificiality in the last line, but the simplicity of the whole verse is perfectly suited to the music. The rhythm of the last line illustrates a point which occurs frequently in Dent's versions. The original has: "Ich werde glücklich sein", but Beethoven repeats "glücklich" and does a similar thing in the other verses. To avoid cramping himself by devising words that can be repeated in exactly the same places Dent simply lengthens the line. The words fit the music well, and no one is any the wiser. Another admirable example of monosyllabic sympathy is the opening scene of *The Barber of Seville*, where Fiorello's

"Tutto è silenzio, nessun qui sta,
Che i nostri canti possa turbar"

is amplified into

"Hush, now, be quiet, still as a mouse!
Here lives the lady, this is the house.
Now is the moment, no soul about,
To spoil our music or put us out".

If you sing this, or hear it sung, you get the illusion, which all honest translators desire to create, that these were the words that Rossini set. The

translation of *The Barber* is Dent's masterpiece. Think of the "Calumny" aria:

"Piano piano, terra terra,
Sotto voce sibilando,
Va scorrendo, va ronzando.
Nell' orecchie della gente
S'introduce destramente,
E le teste ed i cervelli,
Fa stordire e fa gonfiar",

and Dent's version of it:

" 'Dare I tell you?'—'Don't repeat it!'
'Contradict it where you meet it!'
So from one to another flying,
Some believing, some denying,
No one knows who first averr'd it,
Or remembers how he heard it,
But with ev'ry repetition
It receives a fresh addition;
If it's true or if it's fiction
No one cares and no one knows".

The whole thing is marvellously apt. So is the handling of the wild finale of Act I.

Dent's flair for a happy phrase is constantly creating an indivisible association between music and words. Confronted with Monostatos' aria in *The Magic Flute* the anonymous author of the translation in the "Royal Edition" produced this:

"All men feel the lover's passion,
Yearning, burning, ripe for bliss;
Must, because of Ethiop fashion,
I the glowing pleasure miss?"

where the last two lines are not only absurd but are also so involved as to be unintelligible. Dent writes:

"All with passion's fever tingle,
Snatch a kiss and give it back;
Then must I alone be single,
Just because my face is black?"

which is so neat that everyone can grasp it at a first hearing and is also nearer to the German:

"Und ich sollt' die Liebe meiden,
Weil ein Schwarzer hässlich ist".

Or again in *Fidelio*, where Rocco sings:

"Hat man nicht auch Gold beineben,
Kann man nicht ganz glücklich sein,
Traurig schleppt sich fort das Leben,
Mancher Kummer stellt sich ein",

Lady Macfarren has the tolerable version:

"Life is nothing without money,
Anxious cares beset it round;
Sad, when all around is sunny,
Feels the man who none hath found",

which suffers none the less from the inversion. Dent is unmistakably superior:

"Love will not suffice for marriage,
You'll want love and something more;
Or you'll find that life's a burden
When the wolf is at the door".

It would be easy to multiply examples of this verbal felicity. I will add one which always appeals to me when I hear it. It comes in the second act of *Figaro*, where the Count wants to know what were the papers that Antonio picked up. The Countess and Susanna have an aside for Figaro: "Figaro, all'erta! Figaro, all'erta!" and for this Dent has the inimitable "Sharpen your wits, man, sharpen your wits!"

Dent's alertness of mind enables him to deal successfully with the many problems which feminine endings create for the translator. It is only occasionally that he takes refuge in conventional inversions, such as:

"I'll come, my face concealing,
To his dungeon stealing".
(*Fidelio*)

"We on an errand are here—you'll guess it;
We from Ceprano his Countess will ravish".
(*Rigoletto*)

"Supper must we be preparing".
(*Martha*)

More often he avoids the dangerous participle, by using either a pair of monosyllables, as in the first line of the *Rigoletto* example, or convenient substantives or adjectives, or verbal nouns of the following type:

"Pigs and poultry? I know all about their feeding;
In the garden I can do a bit of weeding".
(*Martha*)

Nearly 50 years ago Stanford gave Dent advice about his future career:

"I tell ye what ye ought to do; why don't ye translate operas? Ye write very good English, and ye're *quite musical*".²

It was admirable advice and has borne fruit that Stanford can never have foreseen. Dent has declared that he finds it amusing to translate operas. What is certain is that for hundreds of people he has made opera a new experience. By refusing to surrender to outworn traditions, by rejecting highfalutin nonsense, he has helped others to realize that opera deals with simple human emotions, that the stories it tells are something that everyone can understand.

² H. Plunket Greene: *Charles Villiers Stanford* (1935), p. 81.

E. J. Dent and the International Society for Contemporary Music

BY

EGON WELLESZ

ONE day the story of the International Society for Contemporary Music and the rôle it played in that brilliant period of European music from 1923 to 1938, will have to be written by a competent historian. This cannot be my task. Here, I only want, as one of the founders of the Society, to pay homage to its President for his efforts through all these years to organize it on a world-wide scale, and for the tireless energy with which he worked to establish the I.S.C.M. on a basis of comradeship and in a true spirit of international co-operation.

Immediately after the end of the Great War, in 1918, Dent took up the links with his old friends in the formerly hostile countries. We had met for the first time at the Haydn Congress in Vienna in 1909, and our first talks had been about Italian eighteenth century opera; from that time onward we remained in contact. Now, we met again at the first performance of my opera *Princess Girmara* at Frankfurt, and later on in Vienna. Sir Adrian Boult, then at the beginning of his career, came to Vienna to conduct *The Planets* of Gustav Holst and the music for *The Tempest* by Arthur Bliss; Dorothy Moulton, now Lady Mayer, came too, to give concerts of songs by the younger generation of English composers. All these friends were interested in the works of Arnold Schönberg and of the group of composers who were either his pupils or worked on similar lines.

Other composers, conductors, singers and instrumentalists followed from England and France, among them Maurice Ravel, Darius Milhaud and Francis Poulenc. They were all impressed by the revival of musical life under the most appalling conditions, and a spirit of mutual understanding developed which helped to overcome the hardships under which the composers of Central Europe suffered during these years.

In the winter of 1922 Rudolf Réti, a Viennese composer and friend of Mathias Hauer, came to see me to discuss the idea of an international music festival at Salzburg. Other musicians became interested in the scheme. We had no money to arrange such a festival—these were the days of the worst inflation in Austria—but it made no difference. A courageous bookseller and concert-agent, Hugo Heller, promised to subsidise it. I went to Paris and, with the aid of Darius Milhaud, got a promise from the French Ministry of Education that they would send composers and performers. From Paris I went to London where Sir Robert Mayer gave his help in arranging for English composers and performers to come to Salzburg.

In August, 1922, this first international Music Festival took place and it proved such a success that all those who attended it wished that it should be

made a permanent institution. The International Society for Contemporary Music was formed, and it was decided that in all countries national sections should be set up. But now the most important question arose: who should be made President. It was clear from the first that only one person had all the necessary qualities for this position: Edward Dent. Everybody liked him and had confidence in his impartial handling of affairs which required both competence and tact.

At a meeting of the members of the new society Dent was unanimously elected, and from that day up to the London Festival in 1938 the course of the I.S.C.M. was directed by him. The two first festivals in 1923 and 1924 were held at Salzburg, but here it was decided that the festivals should in future be held in different towns each year. Let us recall them: Prague, 1924; Venice and Prague, 1925; Zurich, 1926; Frankfurt, 1927; Siena, 1928; Geneva, 1929; Liège and Brussels, 1930; Oxford and London, 1931; Vienna, 1932; Amsterdam, 1933; Florence, 1934; Prague, 1935; Barcelona, 1936; Paris, 1937; London, 1938. The last Festival before the outbreak of war in Spring, 1939, was prepared but not attended by Edwin Evans, who succeeded Dent after the London Festival. After his death Dent took over the chair again, to revive the Society and to prepare for the first post-war festival, in London in 1946.

Dent wanted to give up Salzburg for two reasons. The first was that the changes of place would help to spread the idea of modern music and that festivals held in different countries would be an encouragement to the young composers in these countries. The second reason was that from the beginning the local authorities in Salzburg—together with the majority of the Viennese music critics—did not prove to be very co-operative, and regarded our aims with some suspicion. When, at an official reception, the representative of Salzburg addressed Dent by praising Salzburg as the "town of Mozart" Dent replied sarcastically that this was true but that one should also add that Mozart had hated the town in which he had been so badly treated by the Archbishop and had only been happy when he had travelled and met people who honoured him as the great composer he was. Dent very much resented the easy-going spirit of the population who preferred a display of old peasant costumes to a concert of modern music which represented the spirit of the contemporary generation of composers. He had this idea incessantly in his mind. He never showed a predilection for one or the other of the modern composers—personally I think he loved above all Busoni's music though he never tried to impose his taste upon the jury—but he fought for the acknowledgment of modern music in general, because he rightly considered progress in art as an essential factor in the development of modern civilisation. Knowing the history of music so well he realized, as every great historian must realise, that if it is to flourish art must be constantly renewed by every generation of artists. It would be wrong to connect any single movement in modern music exclusively with the aims of the I.S.C.M.; the aim of the society must be to give a universal view of the tendencies in music at the moment of a festival. Otherwise it would lose its contact with the new developments in

music and would have to be replaced by another society to represent the spirit and aims of a new generation of composers.

Few people realise what an immense amount of work was needed to set up an organization which finally comprised twenty-five countries. Dent had to deal with the local branches of all these countries. He had to settle difficulties which arose among their members. He had to prepare and attend the meetings of the members of the International Jury, which assembled each year somewhere in Europe to select works for performance from the compositions sent in by the local sections. He had to remain in touch with the rising generation of composers and, finally, he had to prevent a break-down of the Society when Germany and other countries refused any further co-operation with an internationally minded organization.

I remember so well a discussion which Dent and I had with a scholar from one of the small countries which had every reason to be afraid of a German boycott. When this scholar timidly argued that he had to be cautious, Dent's polite attitude changed and his expression became stiff when he said: "Which do you value higher, scholarship or honour?"

The most difficult situation, I think, with which Dent had to cope, arose at the festival at Barcelona in 1936. Anton Webern, who was to conduct the first performance of Berg's violin Concerto and three fragments from Ernst Křenek's opera *Charles V* had a nervous breakdown during the rehearsal on Saturday morning. The performance was arranged for Sunday evening, and Dent was faced with the possibility of having to cancel the Berg and the Křenek, since the last rehearsal was arranged for the early afternoon. It was mid-day when, after a short discussion with Dent I went to Hermann Scherchen and said "Here is the score of Berg's violin Concerto, you can have a rehearsal in the afternoon and one in the evening. Can you do it?" Scherchen who was looking at the score for the first time, hesitated, but after a while he said he would try if he could get through it with the orchestra. In the mean-time Dent had asked Ansermet to take over Křenek's "Three Fragments". For the first time I saw him becoming nervous, for the success of the Festival depended in some degree on the performance of Berg's violin Concerto, which was to be broadcast. On Sunday Scherchen gave a perfect performance of the Concerto, and Ansermet of the "Three Fragments". No one would have believed that the two conductors had only known the scores for a single day.

There were also moments of perfect happiness and satisfaction, particularly at the meetings of the jury in Winterthur in Switzerland or the gatherings after a successful concert in the early days of the I.S.C.M. when all the young performers and composers were enjoying their first successes and the contact with their fellow musicians.

But exhausting as the work often was I am certain that Dent will agree that it was well worth doing. The International Society, as all its members used to call it, helped to promote modern music to a degree which surpassed the expectations of its founders. From the beginning the festivals were attended by all the leading composers, conductors and music critics. An unknown composer whose work was performed at one of these festivals could

be certain that it would be performed next season by some of the famous conductors, or, if it was chamber music, played all over Europe and America by the same ensemble, and that he would find a publisher for it.

There was of course always a tendency in certain circles to regard with suspicion the activity of a society which, above all in the twenties, favoured works of an experimental character. But, looking back and seeing the period "historically", we must say that the works written in this period were the "*Nuove Musiche*" of our time, and, in promoting this kind of music, the International Society took the place of the Italian courts of the early seventeenth century, which encouraged Caccini, Peri, Monteverdi and their contemporaries.

Once more Dent has taken over the task of building up an international world of music. This time it is an even more difficult task than it was after the first world war. But he has read the letters of the musicians of countries which have suffered under the catastrophe of this war, and his first impulse has been to help. He feels the responsibility of his task, but he must know that no one else has the authority to make the International Society for Contemporary Music work again. In these days of broadcasting it is no longer the performances which matter so much, it is the personal contacts which it is so essential to establish, and in throwing himself again into all the obligations which the reorganization of the society entails, Dent may think of the anxiety which we felt in the early days of the I.S.C.M. and of the joy we had when we saw everyone working harmoniously together in the common cause: the promotion of the music of our time.

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Articles by Cecil Gray. *Pietro Raimondi*, I, 1; *Hyam Greenbaum*, III, 3; *Leslie Heward*, IV, 3; *Contingencies*, V, 3 and 4; VI, 1.

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two new Decca recordings
with some comments
by 'A.R.' of The Gramophone

Petrouchka Ballet Suite (Stravinsky) recorded by London Philharmonic Orchestra (Ansermet).
 K 1388-92 (12 in., 24s. 4½ d.). Auto AK 1388-92.

The Decca recording of *Petrouchka* is indeed staggering and the London Philharmonic Orchestra may well be proud of their début. As some knowledge of the ballet is desirable if the listener is to get the most out of the music, I will begin with an account of it, and of how it came into being.

But we are not left in any doubt about the magic of this score, or the extraordinary fidelity of the recording. I have no hesitation in saying (and bearing the recording of "The Planets" in mind) that this is the most sensational advance in recording we have had yet. Monsieur Ansermet, who knows his Stravinsky better than any man alive today, has secured a superlative performance from the London Philharmonic Orchestra. The opportunities for virtuosity, especially in the wind departments, are innumerable: and they are all taken by the players, who are quite evidently on their toes. Stravinsky makes greater demands on them than even Strauss had done: and his cor anglais, clarinets, and bassoons are made to sound as they had never sounded before. The whole array of percussion is brought into action, from the triangle to the bass drum, and the horns, cornets, trumpets,

trombones and tuba, have all to display extraordinary agility.

I must confess that I needed the antidote of the Italian Symphony after an experience somehow more vivid and intense than one receives in the concert hall.

The engineers have accomplished an outstanding feat, for every detail in this complicated score tells clearly, and they most amply deserve, with everyone else concerned, our congratulations upon making a new and very exciting page of gramophone history.

Italian Symphony No. 4 in A major, Op. 90 and The War March of the Priests (cond. Fistoulari) Mendelssohn. National Symphony Orchestra (Unger) K1370-3 (12 in., 19s. 6d.).
 Auto AK1370-3.

A new recording of Mendelssohn's beautiful symphony was needed—the Koussevitsky is not satisfactory—and this one is most excellent in almost every respect. The qualification concerns the slow movement which is treated rather unimaginatively and with not enough light and shade.

One of the most original bits of scoring comes near the start of the second movement at the point where the flute joins the strings. This charming blending of colours comes out with perfect clarity; in fact, so far as the recording goes, you can apply most of the superlatives I lavished on *Petrouchka*.

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